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Contents of these hearings include: "The socioeconomic indicators of Michigan--implications for education"; "Accountability in education"; "A position statement on educational accountability for improved instructional services at the elementary and secondary levels in Michigan"; "Select Detroit Title I and Section 3 schools, per pupil expenditures (elementary) 1969-70", "Characteristics of the white and the Negro Population in the Detroit Metropolitan Area," by Irvin J. Rubin; "Financial Status, Detroit Public Schools, January 19, 1971"; Minority group activities at Chrysler Corporation, Urban Affairs Office"; "Community control vs. school integration--the case of Detroit, by William R. Grant"; "U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Michigan, Southern Division, Civil Action No. 35257: ruling on issue of segregation, and findings of fact and conclusions of law"; "Human Resources Center, Pontiac, Mich."; "Community school and adult services"; "Results from the Stanford Diagnostic Reading Test, Jefferson Junior High, Pontiac, Mich."; and, "Jefferson Junior High School Reading Scores, 1971."

(JM)

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY—1971

ED 059313

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
OF THE
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION
ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

PART 19C—EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN
MICHIGAN: Appendixes

WASHINGTON, D.C.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY IN MICHIGAN:

Part 19A—Hearing of October 26, 1971

November 1, 1971

November 2, 1971

Part 19A-1—U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equal

Educational Opportunity staff charts on

Michigan's Educational Assessment Program.

Part 19B—Hearing of September 29, 1971 (partial)

October 1, 1971

November 3, 1971

November 4, 1971

Part 19C—Appendixes

(II)

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Appendix 1

ITEMS PERTINENT TO THE HEARING OF OCTOBER 26, 1971

Material Supplied by the Witnesses

FROM DANIEL H. KRUGER

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY,
SCHOOL OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS,
East Lansing, Mich., November 8, 1971.

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH,
Staff Director, Senate Select Committee on Equal Education,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BILL: Enclosed are two copies of the revised prepared text. The population section has been revised extensively to include data as requested by the Senators.

If you have any questions, please call me.

Warmest best wishes.

Sincerely,

DANIEL H. KRUGER,
Professor of Industrial Relations.

Enclosure.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS OF MICHIGAN—IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION
(By Daniel H. Kruger*, Professor of Industrial Relations, School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Michigan State University)

Testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Equal Educational Opportunity, October 26, 1971, Washington, D.C.

Michigan, one of the Great Lakes states, is one of the important manufacturing states in the nation. Michigan and Detroit are synonymous with the automobile industry. The automobile put the world on wheels and this state and Detroit on the map. Michigan has 4.5 percent of the Nation's population which makes it the seventh largest state.

There are three identifiable sections of the state—the southern part of the Lower Peninsula where approximately 90 percent of the population resides, the northern part of the Lower Peninsula which is mostly rural and the Upper peninsula which is mostly forest. The iron and copper mining industry is located here. The famous Mackinaw Bridge joins the Upper Peninsula with the Lower Peninsula.

Michigan is a microcosm of the United States. Within its borders, it has a large metropolitan area, large rural areas and depressed areas. It has giant

*Mr. William Curington, Graduate Student, School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Michigan State University, assisted in the collection and analyses of the data.

manufacturing firms which are world wide. It is an important agricultural state. It has a critical unemployment problem. It has racial problems. It has a growing Spanish surname population. Its products are an important part of American foreign trade. And its principal industries are affected by the Nation's foreign trade policy. It has several ports. It is located adjacent to a foreign country, Canada. Its population in terms of racial and ethnic composition is heterogeneous. It is a wealthy state but has a poverty problem. It has a long history of support of public education dating back to the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. It is a state very sensitive to changes in economic conditions because of the high proportion of its workers involved in the manufacturing of durable goods. Lastly, it is a state trying to develop a series of solutions to its internal complex social and economic problems.

In this paper, an effort will be made to analyze the socio-economic indicators which pinpoint the important socio-economic problems of Michigan. Out of such an analysis will come implications for the State's elementary and secondary public school system. The socio-economic indicators examined include population, income, employment, education, state and local taxes, poverty index, Title I eligibility, student enrollment and estimated expenditures for public education.

Population

The 1970 census shows that Michigan has a population of 8,875,083, an increase of 13.4 percent over the 1960 census. The white population during the decade increased 10.6 percent whereas the Black population increased 38.1 percent. In 1970, Blacks and other races accounted for 11.7 percent of the population compared with 9.2 percent in 1960. There are almost one million Blacks and 51,000 other racial groups in the State in 1970. By comparison, in 1960 there were 718,000 Blacks and 19,700 other racial groups. A significant factor in the increase in the State's Black population was in-state migration. During the decade over 100,000 Blacks moved into Michigan, probably in search of better economic opportunities.

Of the 8,875,083 people in Michigan 75.3 percent or 6,687,672 live in the ten Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) in the state. The white population inside the SMSA's increased 10.6 percent between 1960 and 1970 as compared with a 38.5 percent increase for the Blacks. 938,000 or 94 percent of the 991,000 Blacks in the state live in SMSA's. In contrast, the Census data indicate that within the central cities of these SMSA's that the Black population increased 39.6 percent while the white population declined 17.3 percent. Eighty-two percent of the Black population in Michigan lives in the central cities.

Outside the central cities, the white population increased 27.4 percent. Of the 5,831,000 whites living in the SMSA, 4,191,000 or 72 percent live outside the central cities. The blacks living outside the central cities increased 32.1 percent, but this increase is somewhat misleading since the date for the base year 1960 are low. 129,000 blacks or 13 percent of the total black population live outside of the central cities.

Two million white population in 1970 lived outside the SMSA's. This represents 25.5 percent of the total white population in Michigan. Between 1960 and 1970, the white population living outside the SMSA's increased 10.4 percent. Only 53,000 blacks or 5.3 percent of the total black population live outside SMSA's.

Since three-fourths of Michigan's population lives within the boundaries of the state's ten SMSA's, it is important to examine carefully the growth and composition of the population in these areas. Table I shows a comparison of the racial composition in each of the 10 SMSA's. In every SMSA, the percentage of non-white population in 1970 was 10 percent or more as compared with two in 1960. The four are Detroit 18.6 percent, Saginaw 12.8 percent, Flint 12.6 percent, and Muskegon-Muskegon Heights 11.1 percent. In 1960, Detroit SMSA had 15.1 percent non-white and Saginaw SMSA had 10 percent.

Each of the 10 SMSA's registered increases in total population between 1960 and 1970. With the exception of Grand Rapids and to a lesser extent Flint, the percentage of increase in the white population in these SMSA's has closely paralleled the increases in the total population of the area. The total population in the Grand Rapids SMSA increased 16.7 percent while the white population increased 47.5 percent. Flint SMSA had an increase of 19.3 percent in total population and a 28.7 percent in white population. The range of increase in total population for all the SMSA's was a low of 5 percent in Muskegon-Muskegon Heights SMSA to a high of 35.8 percent in the Ann Arbor SMSA.

The range of percent increase in the white population in these 10 areas was a low of 2.2 percent in Muskegon-Muskegon Heights to a high of 47.5 percent in Grand Rapids. By contrast the proportion of non-white population in each of these 10 areas has been increasing at a much faster rate than both the rate of increase of the total population and of the white population. The range of increase in the proportion of non-white population was from a low of 21.3 percent in Jackson to a high of 105.6 percent in Lansing. Six of the 10 SMSA's had more than a 50 percent increase in the number of non-whites during the decade.

The same pattern prevails when the data for the urbanized areas within the SMSA's are examined (Table II). The concept of urbanized area is used by the Census Bureau to focus on the more densely populated areas within the SMSA. These data indicate the population of the city and its suburbs. In the urbanized area of Detroit, for example, the proportion of non-white population increased from 15.8 percent in 1960 to 19.5 percent in 1970. The numbers of non-white during the decade increased 38.2 percent. The total population in the urbanized area of Detroit increased 12.2 percent whereas the white population increased 7.3 percent. Of all the 10 urbanized areas in the state, Ann Arbor showed the largest increase in total population, 54.9 percent which reflects the inclusion of the students of the University of Michigan. The smallest growth in total population during the decade was in Bay City with 7.3 percent. Ann Arbor also registered the largest growth percentage-wise in white population, with 52.8 percent. The lowest percentage growth in white population was in both Bay City and Muskegon Heights with 6.8 percent.

The highest rate of growth in non-white population in the 10 urbanized areas between 1960 and 1970 occurred in Lansing with 105.1 percent. Six of the 10 urbanized areas experienced increases in non-white population of 50 percent or more.

TABLE I.—COMPARISON OF THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN THE STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, MICHIGAN, FOR THE YEARS 1960 AND 1970

Area	Nonwhite population, 1960	Percent nonwhite, 1960	Nonwhite population, 1970	Percent nonwhite 1970	Percentage increase, 1960-70		
					Total population	White	Nonwhite
Ann Arbor.....	13,097	7.6	20,753	8.9	+35.8	+33.8	+58.4
Bay City.....	700	.7	1,144	1.0	+9.6	+9.2	+63.4
Detroit.....	566,988	15.1	780,211	18.6	+11.6	+7.0	+37.6
Flint.....	36,990	9.9	62,604	12.6	+19.3	+28.7	+69.2
Grand Rapids.....	15,336	4.2	25,927	4.8	+16.7	+47.5	+69.0
Jackson.....	7,485	5.7	9,080	6.3	+8.5	+7.8	+21.3
Kalamazoo.....	6,077	3.6	10,625	5.3	+18.8	+16.6	+74.8
Lansing.....	8,435	2.8	17,346	4.6	+26.6	+24.2	+105.6
Muskegon-Muskegon Heights.....	13,051	8.7	17,527	11.1	+5.0	+2.2	+34.2
Saginaw.....	19,018	10.0	28,092	12.8	+15.2	+11.6	+47.7

Note: An SMSA is a county or group of contiguous counties which contains at least 1 city of 50,000 inhabitants or more or "twin cities" with a combined population of at least 50,000. In addition to the county, or counties containing such a city or cities, contiguous counties are included in an SMSA if, according to certain criteria, they are essentially metropolitan in character and are socially and economically integrated with the city.

Source: 1960 U.S. Census of Population, U.S. Bureau of Census; 1970 U.S. Census of Population, U.S. Bureau of Census.

TABLE II.—COMPARISON OF THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN THE URBANIZED AREAS OF MICHIGAN FOR THE YEARS 1960 AND 1970

Area	Nonwhite population, 1960	Percent nonwhite, 1960	Nonwhite population, 1970	Percent nonwhite, 1970	Percentage increase, 1960-70		
					Total population	White	Nonwhite
Ann Arbor.....	10,393	9.0	18,269	10.2	+54.9	+52.8	+75.3
Bay City.....	651	.9	1,018	1.3	+7.3	+6.8	+56.7
Detroit.....	560,522	15.8	775,065	19.5	+12.2	+7.3	+38.2
Flint.....	36,381	13.1	61,172	18.5	+18.8	+11.4	+68.1
Grand Rapids.....	15,095	5.1	24,748	7.0	+19.9	+17.4	+63.9
Jackson.....	4,783	6.7	6,432	8.2	+10.0	+9.4	+34.4
Kalamazoo.....	5,721	4.9	9,909	6.5	+31.5	+29.2	+73.2
Lansing.....	8,082	4.8	16,583	7.2	+35.5	+32.1	+105.1
Muskegon-Muskegon Heights.....	11,707	12.3	16,285	15.4	+10.9	+6.8	+39.1
Saginaw.....	18,677	14.5	27,497	18.6	+14.2	+8.7	+47.2

¹ This shows an upward bias because the 1970 census counted college students as residents of the community in which they went to school.

Note: An urbanized area contains at least 1 city of 50,000 inhabitants or more, as well as the surrounding closely settled incorporated places and unincorporated areas.

Source: 1960 U.S. Census of the Population; 1970 U.S. Census of the Population.

A more dramatic picture of the changing racial mix of the population can be found by examining the urban places or central cities of these 10 SMSA's (Table III). In six of the 10 central cities, the total population declined during the decade: Jackson—10.3 percent; Detroit—9.5 percent; Bay City—9.3 percent; Saginaw—6.5 percent; Muskegon—4.0 percent; and Flint with a decrease of 1.8 percent.

Seven of the 10 central cities had decreases in white population during the decade: Detroit—29 percent; Saginaw—15.5 percent; Flint—14.8 percent; Muskegon—11.1 percent; Bay City—10 percent and Kalamazoo experienced the smallest decline—0.1 percent. Seven of the 10 urban places registered increases in the non-white population of 50 percent or more.

Table III also reveals that proportion of non-white population has increased dramatically in these 10 urban places. In Detroit central city, the proportion of non-white population rose from 29.2 percent to 44.5 percent between 1960 and 1970. Over a fourth of (28.6 percent) the population of Flint was non-white in 1970 compared to 17.7 percent in 1960. One fourth (25 percent) of the population of Saginaw was non-white in 1970 while in 1960 it was 17 percent. Six of the remaining 10 central cities now have a non-white population ranging from 9 percent in Ann Arbor to 15 percent in Muskegon. Bay City has about 2 percent of its population non-white.

TABLE III.—COMPARISON OF RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN SELECTED URBAN PLACES,¹ MICHIGAN, FOR THE YEARS 1960 AND 1970

Place	Nonwhite population, 1960	Percent nonwhite, 1960	Nonwhite population, 1970	Percent nonwhite, 1970	Percentage increase, 1960-1970		
					Total population	White	Nonwhite
Ann Arbor.....	4,377	6.5	8,891	9.0	+48.2	+44.2	+105.1
Bay City.....	589	1.1	890	1.8	+9.3	+10.0	+51.1
Detroit.....	487,682	29.2	672,609	44.5	+9.5	+29.0	+39.7
Flint.....	34,858	17.7	55,288	28.6	+1.8	+14.8	+58.6
Grand Rapids.....	14,716	8.3	23,717	12.0	+11.5	+33.1	+61.1
Jackson.....	4,716	9.3	6,322	13.9	+10.3	+14.8	+34.0
Kalamazoo.....	5,499	6.7	9,068	10.6	+4.2	-.1	+64.9
Lansing.....	7,007	6.5	13,286	10.1	+22.0	+17.3	+89.6
Muskegon.....	3,811	8.2	6,694	15.0	+4.0	+11.1	+75.6
Saginaw.....	16,705	17.0	22,962	25.0	+6.5	+15.5	+37.4

¹ Within an SMSA the urban place constitutes the central city.

Source: 1960 U.S. Census of the Population; 1970 U.S. Census of the Population.

In summary, the central cities of the State are losing population. The whites¹ are moving out of the central cities whereas the black population is increasing. Whites are moving to the suburbs or the urbanized ring. To obtain the population in the urbanized ring, one subtracts the population of the urban place or central city from the population of the urbanized area (population of urbanized area minus population of urban place equals population of urbanized ring). As Table IV shows 3 of the 10 urbanized rings have a white population of 99 percent or more (Jackson, Bay City and Grand Rapids). Five have white populations ranging from 91.8 percent to 99 percent—Kalamazoo, Lansing, Detroit, Flint and Saginaw. The urbanized ring of Muskegon-Muskegon Heights has the highest proportion of non-white 15.8 percent while Ann Arbor has 11.8 percent non-white. The urbanized rings for the most part are almost all white.

In the urbanized ring of Detroit, only 4.2 percent of the population is non-white, but within the Detroit central city, as noted previously, non-whites account for 44.5 percent of the population. Put another way, 73.7 percent of the total white population of the Detroit urbanized area lives in the urbanized ring, i.e. outside of the central city. This means that 2,357,448 whites out of the total white population in the Detroit urbanized area of 3,196,320 live in the urbanized ring. 838,872 whites and 672,609 non-whites lived in Detroit central city in 1970.

The racial composition of the populations in smaller urban places throughout the state is also changing dramatically as evidenced in Table V. Of the 19 urban places selected, 12 had decreases in total population, 15 had decreases in white population. Only two had decreases in non-white population, the remaining 17 urban places had increases in non-white population. Ten of these 19 urban places had 20 percent or more non-white population in 1970. Four have non-white population of 40 percent or more in 1970 while none had this proportion in 1960. The population pattern of these smaller urban places parallels that of the 10 major urban places in the state. All of the urban places in Tables III and V are in the southern part of the State.

TABLE IV.—COMPARISON OF RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN URBANIZED RINGS¹, MICHIGAN 1970

Ring	Total ring population	White population	Nonwhite population	Percentage white	Percentage black
Ann Arbor.....	78,860	69,572	9,288	88.2	11.8
Bay City.....	28,650	28,522	128	99.5	.5
Detroit.....	2,459,904	2,357,448	102,456	95.8	4.2
Flint.....	136,909	131,025	5,884	95.7	4.3
Grand Rapids.....	155,112	154,081	1,031	99.3	.7
Jackson.....	33,077	32,967	110	99.6	.4
Kalamazoo.....	66,551	65,710	841	98.7	1.3
Lansing.....	98,029	94,732	3,297	96.6	3.4
Muskegon-Muskegon Heights.....	61,011	51,420	9,591	84.2	15.8
Saginaw.....	55,755	51,220	4,535	91.8	8.2

¹ The population of an urbanized ring is derived by subtracting the population of a central city urban place from the urbanized area of the city. This isolates the population of the suburbs.

Source: 1970 U.S. Census of Population.

TABLE V.—COMPARISON OF RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION IN SELECTED URBAN PLACE,¹ MICHIGAN—FOR THE YEARS 1960 AND 1970

Place	Nonwhite population 1960	Percent nonwhite 1960	Nonwhite population 1970	Percent nonwhite 1970	Percentage increase 1960-70		
					Total population	White	Nonwhite
Albion.....	2,600	20.4	3,088	25.5	-5.0	-11.0	+18.7
Battle Creek.....	6,713	15.2	8,019	20.6	-11.9	-17.5	+19.4
Benton Harbor.....	4,841	25.3	9,773	59.3	-13.9	-53.1	+101.0
Buchanan.....	464	8.7	511	11.0	-13.0	-13.9	+10.1
Dowagiac.....	957	13.3	1,040	15.8	-8.7	-11.2	+8.6
East Lansing.....	754	2.5	2,424	5.1	+57.4	+53.2	+221.4
Ecorse.....	5,770	33.3	6,795	38.8	+1.1	-7.2	+17.7
Hamtramck.....	4,949	14.5	3,418	12.5	-20.2	-18.3	-30.9
Highland Park.....	8,145	21.4	20,167	56.9	-6.9	-48.9	+147.5
Inkster.....	13,566	34.7	17,329	44.9	-1.3	-16.7	+27.7
Mount Clemens.....	2,458	11.7	3,419	16.7	-2.6	-8.0	+39.0
Muskegon Heights.....	7,547	38.6	9,084	52.5	-11.5	-31.6	+20.3
Niles.....	747	5.4	1,129	8.7	-6.2	-9.4	+51.1
Pontiac.....	13,979	17.0	23,451	27.5	+3.7	-9.4	+67.7
River Rouge.....	5,879	32.4	5,166	32.4	-12.1	-12.1	-12.1
Romeo.....	222	6.7	276	6.9	+20.6	+20.3	+24.3
South Haven.....	504	8.2	795	12.3	+5.2	+5	+57.7
Three Rivers.....	226	3.2	581	7.9	+3.7	-1.3	+157.0
Ypsilanti.....	4,736	22.6	6,025	20.4	+40.9	+44.9	+27.2

¹ Urban places—all incorporated and unincorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more.

Sources: 1960 U.S. Census of the Population, 1970 U.S. Census of the Population.

Age Distribution

Over one-third (36.6 percent) of the 1970 population is under 18 years of age. Over 50 percent (54.9 percent) is between 18 to 64 years of age and 8.5 percent of the state's population is 65 years and over. These age distributions are almost identical with those for the 1960 population: 37.8 percent under 18, 54 percent 18-64 and 8.2 percent 65 years and older.

An analysis of the 1970 data by age cohort shows that there has been a decrease of 17 percent in the age group 0-4 years during the decade 1960-70. This is the largest decrease in any of the age cohorts as indicated in Table VI. Two other age cohorts experienced decreases. There was a 9.3 percent decrease in the 30-34 age group and a 14.7 percent decrease in the 35-39 cohort. The two largest increases were in the age cohorts 15-19 and 20-24. The former increased 54.7 percent and the latter 57.7 percent. These increases reflect the baby born in the post war period, 1946-1955.

TABLE VI.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MICHIGAN POPULATION, 1960 AND 1970

[In thousands]

Age in years	1960	1970	Percent change 1960 to 1970	Age in years	1960	1970	Percent change 1960 to 1970
0 to 4.....	969	804	-17.0	40 to 44.....	509	528	3.8
5 to 9.....	879	924	5.1	45 to 49.....	461	529	14.7
10 to 14.....	744	979	31.7	50 to 54.....	398	478	20.0
15 to 19.....	564	873	54.7	55 to 59.....	353	411	16.6
20 to 24.....	447	703	57.7	60 to 64.....	293	336	14.8
25 to 29.....	474	594	25.3	65 to 69.....	251	264	5.0
30 to 34.....	539	489	-9.3	70 to 74.....	184	203	10.3
35 to 39.....	556	474	-14.7	75 plus.....	203	286	40.9

Source: 1970 U.S. Census of Population.

Family Formation

There are 2,181,816 families in Michigan. Of this number—1,262,763 or 57.8 percent have children under 18 years of age. These families have a total of 3,073,963 children under 18 years distributed as follows: 919,963 children under 6 years of age, and 2,153,970 children 6 to 17 years of age.

Of the children under 18 years of age, 2,695,802 are white and 361,256 are Black. Put another way, 87 percent of the children under 18 years of age are white and 11.8 percent are Black. Of the children under 6 years of age 755,938

(82 percent) are white and 112,904 (12.3 percent) are Black. There are 1,894,979 (87.9 percent) white children and 248,352 (11.5 percent) Black children 6-17 years of age.

The proportion of Black children under 18 years of age generally follows the proportion of Black population of the state which is 11.7 percent.

Income

Income received by Michigan residents is an important socio-economic indicator. The standard or style of living is a function of income. In many instances, income is a factor which determines where one lives. The degree to which individuals may be willing to support their school systems is also a function of income.

There are several sources of data available on the income of Michigan residents. One is per capita income; another is data from income tax returns; a third source is income data by county. Each will be briefly discussed.

Between 1960 and 1970, the total personal income in Michigan rose from \$18.2 billion to \$36.7 billion, an increase of 100 percent. The per capita personal income increased from \$2,323 to \$4,121, a gain of 78 percent (Table VII). By comparison, the per capita personal income of the U.S. rose from \$2,219 to \$3,907, or 76 percent. The average annual percent increase in Michigan during this period was 5.7 percent and in the U.S. 7.7 percent. In one year 1961, a recession year, Michigan's per capita income declined 1.2 percent as compared with 0.4 percent decline in U.S. per capita income. In all other years, there was an increase in both Michigan and the U.S. per capita income. In Michigan, the increase ranged from a low of 3.2 percent in 1960 to a high of 9.8 percent in 1968. Nationally, the increase ranged from a low of 4.1 percent in 1960 and a 11.9 percent gain in 1965.

TABLE VII.—U.S. TOTAL AND MICHIGAN TOTAL AND PER CAPITA PERSONAL INCOME, 1960-70

Year	Michigan		United States ¹		Michigan per capita		
	Amount (millions)	Percent change	Amount (millions)	Percent change	Amount	Percent change	Percent of United States
1960.....	\$18,203	4.1	\$398,725	4.7	\$2,323	3.2	104.9
1961.....	18,131	— .4	414,411	3.9	2,294	—1.2	101.3
1962.....	19,320	6.6	440,192	6.2	2,430	5.9	102.6
1963.....	20,787	7.6	463,053	5.2	2,575	6.0	104.8
1964.....	22,701	9.2	494,913	6.9	2,768	7.5	106.9
1965.....	25,398	11.9	538,949	8.3	3,032	9.5	109.5
1966.....	27,680	9.0	583,829	8.9	3,242	6.9	108.6
1967.....	29,142	5.3	625,490	7.1	3,367	3.9	106.3
1968.....	32,222	10.6	684,442	9.4	3,697	9.8	107.8
1969.....	35,010	8.7	744,479	8.8	3,976	7.5	107.6
1970.....	36,658	4.7	796,593	7.0	4,121	3.6	105.4

¹ Personal income estimates for the United States are the sum of State personal incomes and not comparable to total U.S. personal income which includes individuals stationed abroad.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Business Economics. 1970 estimates by the Executive Office.

Another way to compare per capita in Michigan with that of the United States is to examine the relationship of one to another, i.e., Michigan's per capita income as a percent of that of the United States. In 1960, Michigan's per capita income was 104.9 percent of the U.S. and in 1970, it was 105.4 percent. In 1961, the relationship was the lowest, 101.3 percent and in 1965, the highest, 109.5 percent.

Table VIII shows Federal income tax returns by adjusted gross income classes for both 1963 and 1968. In 1963, 10.3 percent of the returns were under 1,000 as compared with 9.4 percent in 1968. Over one-third of the returns in 1963 and almost three-fourths of 1968 were in the \$1,000 to \$5,000 class. Put another way in 1963, 45.3 percent of the returns were under \$5,000 compared to 38.1 percent in 1968. Forty percent of the returns in 1963, but only 30 percent in 1968, were in the \$5,000 to \$10,000 class. Thus in 1963, 85 percent of the returns were under \$10,000 compared with 68 percent in 1968. Accordingly, 15 percent of the returns in 1963 were \$10,000 and over compared with 32 percent in 1968. The proportion of returns \$10,000 and over doubled between 1963 and 1968. The proportion of returns in the \$10,000 to \$15,000 class rose from 11.7 percent in 1963 to 20.8 percent in 1968. The most significant increase occurred in the \$15,000 to \$25,000 class which rose from 2.9 percent in 1963 to 9.0 percent in 1968.

TABLE VIII.—NUMBER OF FEDERAL INCOME TAX RETURNS BY ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME CLASS,
MICHIGAN, 1963 AND 1968

Adjusted gross income class	1963	Percent	1968	Percent
None.....	12,348	0.5	13,516	0.4
Under \$1,000.....	263,063	9.8	285,597	9.0
\$1,000 to \$5,000.....	940,119	35.0	912,115	28.7
\$5,000 to \$10,000.....	1,078,964	40.2	935,294	29.5
\$10,000 to \$15,000.....	314,395	11.7	660,594	20.0
\$15,000 to \$25,000.....	77,806	2.9	286,246	9.8
\$25,000 to \$50,000.....	24,696	.9	58,903	1.8
Over \$50,000.....	6,726	.2	16,822	.5
Total.....	2,682,101	100.0	3,169,060	99.7

Source: Internal Revenue Service, Statistics of Income 1963 and Statistics of Income 1968.

The most recent available data on income by county in Michigan are for 1967. Table IX has data by income ranges for each county. These data show:

- 15 counties have 20–30 percent of their households with annual cash incomes under \$5,000;
- 27 counties have 30–40 percent of their households with annual cash incomes under \$5,000;
- 30 counties have 40–50 percent of their households with annual cash incomes under \$5,000; and
- 7 counties have over 50 percent of their households with annual cash incomes under \$5,000.

Seventy-nine out of the 83 counties have one-fifth or more of their households with annual cash incomes under \$5,000. Thirty seven counties have two-fifths or more of their households with annual cash incomes under \$5,000.

Viewed another way, 55 of the 83 counties have 20 percent or more of their households with annual cash incomes under \$3,000; 7 counties have 30 percent or more of their households with annual cash incomes under \$3,000; 1 county has 40 percent or more of its households with annual cash incomes under \$3,000.

All of the counties with 40 percent or more of the households with incomes under \$5,000 are located in the Northern part of the Lower Peninsula and in the Upper Peninsula.

TABLE IX.—PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS BY CASH INCOME GROUPS, IN MICHIGAN, BY COUNTIES, 1967¹

Counties	Percentage of households				
	0 to \$4,999	\$3,000 to \$4,999	\$5,000 to \$7,999	\$8,000 to \$9,999	\$10,000 +
Alcona.....	28.6	17.2	27.7	10.2	16.3
Alger.....	28.2	16.6	31.3	13.8	10.1
Allegan.....	19.2	12.4	30.2	16.6	21.6
Alpena.....	19.3	11.0	26.7	19.9	23.1
Antrim.....	28.5	19.3	28.7	11.1	12.4
Arenac.....	26.3	17.9	28.5	11.5	15.8
Baraga.....	31.7	18.9	28.7	10.8	9.9
Barry.....	20.5	13.1	26.1	16.1	24.2
Bay.....	15.8	10.1	26.0	19.4	28.7
Benzie.....	22.2	15.3	27.4	15.8	19.3
Berrien.....	18.3	10.7	25.1	17.4	28.5
Branch.....	22.7	13.7	25.5	13.4	24.7
Calhoun.....	17.7	9.9	23.5	16.7	32.2
Cass.....	21.2	12.7	28.9	15.3	21.9
Charlevoix.....	24.4	16.3	30.9	12.9	15.5
Cheboygan.....	26.9	18.2	27.5	12.3	15.1
Chippewa.....	24.0	18.8	31.9	12.4	12.9
Clare.....	27.9	16.2	26.8	13.8	15.3
Clinton.....	16.1	12.1	28.6	17.0	26.2
Crawford.....	25.7	16.3	29.9	15.4	12.7
Delta.....	24.5	17.2	33.8	12.5	12.0
Dickinson.....	25.8	18.4	31.5	12.6	11.7
Eaton.....	15.2	12.0	27.0	16.9	28.9
Emmet.....	25.4	15.1	28.1	15.0	16.4
Genesee.....	12.8	9.4	30.4	17.5	29.9
Gladwin.....	27.0	16.8	25.6	17.2	13.4
Gogebic.....	26.2	22.4	34.1	9.4	7.9
Grand Traverse.....	20.4	11.5	24.7	15.4	28.0

See footnote at end of table.

TABLE IX.—PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS BY CASH INCOME GROUPS, IN MICHIGAN, BY COUNTIES
1967¹—Continued

Counties	Percentage of households				
	0 to \$4,999	\$3,000 to \$4,999	\$5,000 to \$7,999	\$8,000 to \$9,999	\$10,000+
Gratiot.....	21.5	13.9	27.6	14.8	22.
Hillsdale.....	24.5	15.4	26.9	13.9	19.3
Houghton.....	30.3	19.9	31.1	8.8	9.9
Huron.....	28.8	17.9	27.6	10.6	15.1
Ingham.....	14.9	10.9	27.8	16.6	29.8
Ionia.....	20.7	14.2	29.6	14.5	21.0
Iosco.....	21.4	17.3	28.9	13.3	19.1
Iron.....	24.5	17.9	29.2	14.3	14.1
Isabella.....	21.8	14.4	25.8	14.6	23.4
Jackson.....	14.4	10.4	23.3	18.4	33.5
Kalamazoo.....	14.2	9.4	25.2	18.1	33.1
Kalkaska.....	28.4	19.6	26.8	12.5	12.7
Kent.....	15.1	10.5	25.8	17.5	31.1
Keweenaw.....	29.6	24.1	35.2	6.2	4.9
Lake.....	41.8	17.8	23.4	8.1	8.9
Lapeer.....	18.8	13.3	29.7	14.1	24.1
Leelanau.....	25.1	17.6	26.9	11.7	18.7
Lenawee.....	18.8	11.9	27.9	18.1	23.3
Livingston.....	18.5	12.4	25.0	16.1	28.0
Luce.....	27.5	16.3	27.0	9.5	19.7
Mackinac.....	26.4	20.5	27.8	10.9	14.4
Macomb.....	7.0	7.1	23.7	21.0	41.2
Manistee.....	19.9	12.3	26.2	17.8	23.8
Marquette.....	19.4	16.7	35.5	15.0	13.4
Mason.....	21.0	14.8	24.3	17.1	22.8
Mecosta.....	29.3	16.6	25.7	11.9	16.5
Menominee.....	26.9	22.5	32.1	9.4	9.1
Midland.....	14.3	7.5	19.6	21.4	37.2
Missaukee.....	30.4	19.8	26.8	9.1	13.9
Monroe.....	15.9	12.1	32.4	17.3	22.3
Montcalm.....	24.7	15.8	28.0	14.1	17.4
Montmorency.....	35.5	18.9	21.2	12.6	11.8
Muskegon.....	15.3	10.3	31.0	19.3	24.1
Newaygo.....	26.8	15.2	26.5	13.8	17.7
Oakland.....	7.4	6.6	20.8	18.0	47.2
Oceana.....	23.7	13.2	23.0	15.7	24.4
Ogemaw.....	31.8	18.5	23.8	10.6	15.3
Ontonagon.....	27.6	16.3	33.1	13.4	9.6
Osceola.....	27.4	15.9	29.2	12.2	15.3
Oscoda.....	31.5	14.3	25.3	11.6	17.3
Otsego.....	21.7	15.3	31.8	18.3	16.9
Ottawa.....	13.6	10.3	31.7	18.6	25.8
Presque Isle.....	22.2	13.9	25.7	15.7	22.5
Roscommon.....	29.6	15.2	23.2	12.7	19.3
Saginaw.....	15.5	10.0	29.4	17.5	27.6
St. Clair.....	20.4	11.8	24.0	16.9	26.9
St. Joseph.....	19.8	13.0	26.7	15.1	25.4
Sanilac.....	26.0	17.9	27.0	11.9	17.2
Schoolcraft.....	29.9	19.0	32.8	10.3	8.0
Shiawassee.....	17.5	11.1	27.8	16.3	27.3
Tuscola.....	21.3	14.9	30.1	13.1	20.6
Van Buren.....	24.6	14.0	27.2	14.3	19.9
Washtenaw.....	14.4	9.3	19.5	15.6	41.2
Wayne.....	12.1	9.5	24.2	17.5	36.7
Wexford.....	22.9	14.7	28.4	14.6	19.4
State total.....	14.3	10.3	25.6	14.2	32.6

¹ Source: Sales Management Magazine, Survey of Buying Power, June 10, 1968.

Data on income by race are available for the year, July 1968–June 1969, for both the city of Detroit and an area in the central city, heavily populated by blacks. This special study, one of five covering major cities in the nation, was conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. Table X shows data for the entire city of Detroit and Table XI data for the survey area. In the entire city of Detroit, 2.7 percent of families with four or more members and 12.7 percent of the black families of similar size had incomes under \$3,500. Six percent of the white families with four or more members as compared with 21 percent of black families of four members or more had annual incomes under \$5,000. The proportion of black families under \$5,000 annual income was more than three times that of white families.

In the city, about one-fifth of the black and other races families and one-seventh of the white families with four or more members had annual incomes of \$5,000 to \$7,999. Almost four-fifths (78.9 percent) of the white families and nearly three-fifths of the (57.6 percent) black families had annual incomes of \$8,000 or more. However, three fifths of the white families (59.8 percent) and slightly over two-fifths (42.3 percent) of the black families with four or more members had annual incomes of \$10,000 or more. The median annual incomes of white families with four or more members was \$11,218 as compared with \$8,909 for similar size black families. The annual median incomes of black families was 79.4 percent of that for white families of this size.

Of the families with two or more members in the city of Detroit, one-fifth (19.9 percent) of the white families and one-fourth (26 percent) of the black families had annual incomes under \$5,000. Slightly over three-fifths (62 percent) of the white families of this size as compared with about one-half (51.6 percent) of the black families annual incomes in excess of \$8,000. In the \$10,000 plus annual income group, there were over two-fifths (43.9 percent) of the white families and over one-third (35.9 percent) black families. The median income for white families of two or more members was \$9,217 and \$8,217 for black families of this size. The annual median income of black families with two or more members was 89.1 percent of that for white families of similar size.

TABLE X.—ANNUAL INCOME OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS IN DETROIT SURVEY AREA AND ENTIRE CITY BY RACE, JULY 1968-JUNE 1969¹

ENTIRE CITY OF DETROIT

Money income	All families	White	Negroes and other races
Families (2 or more members):			
Total number.....	370,400	222,700	147,700
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 to \$3,499.....	13.2	11.7	15.8
\$3,500 to \$4,999.....	9.0	8.2	10.2
\$5,000 to \$7,999.....	19.8	18.2	22.2
\$8,000 to \$9,999.....	17.3	18.1	16.0
\$10,000 or more.....	40.7	43.9	35.9
Median income.....	\$8,847	\$9,217	\$8,217
Families (4 or more members):			
Total number.....	150,000	83,500	66,300
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 to \$3,499.....	7.3	2.7	12.7
\$3,500 to \$4,999.....	5.8	3.1	8.2
\$5,000 to \$7,999.....	17.9	15.3	22.5
\$8,000 to \$9,999.....	17.3	19.1	15.8
\$10,000 or more.....	51.6	59.8	42.3
Median income.....	\$10,103	\$11,218	\$8,909
Unrelated individuals:			
Total number.....	139,600	86,000	53,600
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 to \$3,499.....	53.4	54.6	51.9
\$3,500 to \$4,999.....	11.1	10.8	11.4
\$5,000 to \$7,999.....	21.0	20.5	21.6
\$8,000 to \$9,999.....	7.7	7.3	8.6
\$10,000 or more.....	6.8	6.8	6.9
Median income.....	\$3,224	\$3,151	\$3,378

¹ The sum of the individual items may not equal the total due to rounding.

Source: Poverty—The Broad Outline, Detroit, Urban Employment Survey No. 1, Detroit, U.S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, North Central Region, pp. 41.

In the Detroit survey areas—The Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) area—as indicated by Table X, one fifth of both white and black families with four or more members had annual income under \$3,500. Over one-third (36 percent) of the white families of this size had annual incomes under \$5,000 as compared with one-third (33.4 percent) of the black families. Nearly half (48 percent) of the white families and over two-fifths (42.6 percent) of the black families with four or more members had annual income of \$8,000 or more. About one-third of the white families of this size in the survey area had annual incomes of \$10,000 compared to about one-fourth (26.9 percent) of the black families. The median annual income of white families of this size was \$7,000 and \$7,318 for black families. Thus, the annual median income of black families with four or more members was 104.5 of that of white families in the Detroit survey area.

The proportion of both white and black families with two or more members in the survey area with annual incomes under \$3,500 was about the same for both groups, 26.2 percent of the white families and 27.8 percent of the black families. Similarly, about two-fifths of families in both groups had annual income under \$5,000. Over one-third (35.7 percent) of the white families and over one-third (34.8 percent) of the black families with two or more members had annual incomes in excess of \$8,000. Slightly over one-fifth (21.4 percent) of the white families and about one-fifth (19.6 percent) of the black families had annual incomes over \$10,000. The median annual income of such white families was \$6,313, compared to \$6,166 for black families. In the survey area, black families of two or more members had an annual median income which was 97.6 percent of that of white families of similar size.

TABLE XI.—ANNUAL INCOME OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS IN DETROIT SURVEY AREA AND ENTIRE CITY, BY RACE, JULY 1968-JUNE 1969¹

Money income	All families	White	Negroes and other races
Families (2 or more members):			
Total, number.....	31,400	8,300	23,000
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
\$0 to \$3,499.....	26.8	26.2	27.8
\$3,500 to \$4,999.....	12.8	13.1	13.0
\$5,000 to \$7,999.....	24.9	25.0	24.3
\$8,000 to \$9,999.....	15.3	14.3	15.2
\$10,000 or more.....	20.1	21.4	19.6
Median income.....	\$6,346	\$6,313	\$6,166
Families (4 or more members):			
Total, number.....	13,300	2,400	10,900
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
\$0 to \$3,499.....	18.8	20.0	20.4
\$3,500 to \$4,999.....	12.8	16.0	13.0
\$5,000 to \$7,999.....	24.1	16.0	24.1
\$8,000 to \$9,999.....	16.5	16.0	15.7
\$10,000 or more.....	27.8	32.0	26.9
Median income.....	\$7,423	\$7,000	\$7,318
Unrelated individuals:			
Total, number.....	26,800	12,100	14,700
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
\$0 to \$3,499.....	66.5	64.7	68.0
\$3,500 to \$4,999.....	10.4	11.8	8.8
\$5,000 to \$7,999.....	15.2	13.4	17.7
\$8,000 to \$9,999.....	4.5	5.9	3.4
\$10,000 or more.....	3.3	4.2	2.0
Median income.....	\$2,119	\$2,374	\$1,986

¹ The sum of the individual items may not equal the total due to rounding.

Source: "Poverty—The Broad Outline, Detroit," urban employment survey report No. 1, Detroit, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, North Central Region, p. 40.

Another comparison of income between Michigan and the United States is average weekly earnings and average hourly earnings in manufacturing industries (Table XI). Michigan is a high wage paying state. Between 1960 and 1970 average weekly earnings in Michigan increased from \$112.00 to \$168.24, a gain of 50 percent; average hourly earnings also rose 50 percent from \$2.75 to \$4.14. In the Nation's manufacturing industry, average weekly wage increased from \$89.72 to \$133.74 a gain of 50 percent; average hourly earnings also increased of 50 percent from \$2.26 to \$3.36.

As noted both average weekly and hourly earnings in manufacturing are higher in Michigan than for the United States as a whole. Table XI also show both these earnings as a percent of the United States. During the period 1960-70 the average weekly earnings in Michigan, on the average, were 27.5 percent higher than those for the United States. The low point was 1961 when Michigan's average weekly earnings were one fifth higher (121) than those for the United States. The high point was in both 1965 and 1968 when Michigan's weekly earnings were a third higher (133) than those for the United States. Average hourly earnings in Michigan during this period were, on the average; 22 percent higher than the average hourly earnings for manufacturing industry in the United States. In 1961, Michigan's average hourly earnings were one fifth more than those for the United States, (120) which was the low point. In 1968, they were a fourth higher (125) than the United States.

TABLE XII.—AVERAGE WEEKLY AND HOURLY EARNINGS IN MANUFACTURING, MICHIGAN AND UNITED STATES, 1960-70

Year	Michigan		United States		Michigan as percent of United States	
	Average weekly earnings	Average hourly earnings	Average weekly earnings	Average hourly earnings	Average weekly earnings	Average hourly earnings
1960	\$112.00	\$2.75	\$89.72	\$2.26	124	121
1961	112.32	2.80	92.34	2.32	121	120
1962	121.43	2.91	96.56	2.39	125	121
1963	128.27	3.02	99.63	2.46	128	122
1964	135.11	3.11	102.97	2.53	131	122
1965	143.79	3.22	107.53	2.61	133	123
1966	145.10	3.35	112.34	2.72	129	123
1967	145.78	3.47	114.90	2.83	126	122
1968	164.15	3.79	122.51	3.01	133	125
1969	166.78	3.97	129.51	3.19	128	124
1970	168.24	4.14	133.74	3.36	125	123

Source: Michigan data from Michigan Employment Security Commission. U.S. data from U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Business Economics. Data for December 1970 are preliminary.

The sources of personal income in Michigan have changed rather significantly in the period 1960 and 1970 (Table XIII). In both years, the largest source of personal income was from wages and salaries in manufacturing. However, the proportion of the State's personal income from this source declined from 35 percent in 1960 to 29 percent in 1970. The second major source of wages and salaries in 1960 was wholesale and retail trade, which accounted for 10 percent of personal income in 1960 and 10.3 percent in 1970. The second major source of wages and salaries in 1970 was government employment—Federal, state, and local—with 10.6 percent; in 1960, this sector accounted for 8.8 percent. During this period, state and local governments' share rose from 6.9 percent to 8.8 percent.

Proprietors income declined from 9.3 percent in 1960 to 7.2 percent in 1970. Property income, however, accounted for 12 percent of the State's total in 1960 and 13.3 percent in 1970. Transfer payments, which includes Social Security benefits and welfare payments, increased from 6.5 percent in 1960 to 8.7 percent in 1970.

TABLE XIII.—MICHIGAN PERSONAL INCOME, BY MAJOR SOURCES, 1960 AND 1970

[In millions of dollars]

	1960	Percent	1970	Percent
Total personal income	18,203		36,658	
Wage and salary disbursements	12,837	100.0	25,868	100.0
Farms	55	.3	48	.1
Mining	96	.5	113	.3
Contract construction	570	3.1	1,412	3.8
Manufacturing	6,342	34.8	10,602	28.9
Wholesale and retail trade	1,829	10.0	3,807	10.3
Finance, insurance, and real estate	388	2.1	868	2.3
Transportation, communications, and public utilities	819	4.4	1,419	3.8
Services	1,119	6.1	2,856	7.7
Government	1,603	8.8	3,912	10.6
Federal civilian	248	1.3	520	1.4
Federal military	97	.5	158	.4
State and local	1,258	6.9	3,234	8.8
Other labor income	668	3.6	2,020	5.5
Proprietors income	1,697	9.3	2,663	7.2
Farm	237	1.3	285	.7
Nonfarm	1,460	8.0	2,378	6.4
Property income	2,198	12.0	4,902	13.3
Transfer payments	1,192	6.5	3,209	8.7
Less personal contributions for social insurance	389	2.1	1,205	3.2

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Business Economics.

Employment

One of the critical employment problems in Michigan is that the labor force is growing faster than the State's ability to provide employment. During the years 1960 to 1970, the State's labor force increased 23.8 percent, from 2.9 million to 3.7 million (Table XIV). The number of employed increased from 2.8 million to 3.4 million, a gain of 22.3 percent. The non-farm labor force increased 26 percent, from 2.9 million to 3.6 million. Total non-farm employment also increased 25 percent, from 2.7 million to 3.3 million. As is well known, agricultural employment has been declining both nationally and in the State. Between 1960 and 1970, agricultural employment declined 40 percent, from 93,700 to 56,200. In all probability, it will continue to decline as a result of mechanization of crops. Self employment declined 8.5 percent, from 314,500 to 287,500 in the period 1960-70, while wage and salary workers increased from 2.4 million to 3.0 million, a gain of 29 percent.

TABLE XIV.—MICHIGAN LABOR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT ESTIMATES

[In thousands]

	1960	1970	Percent change
Total labor force.....	2,959.0	3,664.3	+23.8
Employed.....	2,758.9	3,374.5	+22.3
Unemployed.....	198.6	253.7	+27.7
Agricultural employment.....	93.7	56.2	-40.0
Nonfarm labor force.....	2,865.3	3,608.1	+25.9
Total nonfarm employment.....	2,665.2	3,318.3	+24.5
Self employment.....	314.5	287.5	-8.5
Wage and salary workers.....	2,350.7	3,030.8	+28.9

Source: Economic report of the Governor, Michigan, 1971.

Table XV shows the distribution of wage and salary workers by industrial classification for both 1960 and 1970. Of particular significance is that service type industries are providing increasing employment opportunities for Michigan's work force. The highest percent increase was in services—a whopping gain of 62 percent in that decade. Public employment increased 55 percent between 1960 and 1970. Manufacturing employment only increased by 11.4 percent.

The importance of this modest increase can be seen in Table XVI. In 1960, manufacturing establishments accounted for 51.5 percent of the employees of non-farm establishments. By 1970, manufacturing industries accounted for 45.8 percent of non-farm employees. Equally disturbing is that the absolute growth in the number of employees in manufacturing establishments between 1960 and 1970 totalled only 149,000, or an annual average of 13,545. The importance of manufacturing as a source of employment has been declining in Michigan. This helps to explain, in part, the relatively high levels of unemployment which the State has been experiencing.

TABLE XV.—MICHIGAN WAGE AND SALARY WORKERS, 1960 AND 1970

[In thousands]

	1960	1970	Percent change
Total manufacturing.....	967.6	1,078.8	+11.4
Durable goods.....	770.6	863.3	+9.5
Motor vehicles and equipment.....	311.2	388.0	+8.6
Nondurable goods.....	197.0	215.5	+9.3
Total nonmanufacturing:			
Industries.....	1,050.4	1,436.3	+36.7
Construction.....	97.2	121.3	+24.7
Transportation, communications, and utilities.....	140.4	149.9	+6.7
Wholesale trade.....	102.9	141.4	+37.4
Retail trade.....	348.0	465.3	+33.7
Finance, real estate, and insurance.....	82.8	119.0	+43.7
Services.....	263.7	427.4	+62.0
Mining.....	15.5	12.0	-22.5
Total government.....	332.7	515.7	+55.0
Federal.....	46.3	57.2	+23.5
State.....	71.1	113.2	+59.2
Local.....	215.3	345.3	+60.3

Source: Economic Report of the Governor, Michigan, 1971.

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TABLE XVI.—EMPLOYEES ON PAYROLLS OF NONAGRICULTURAL AND MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS IN MICHIGAN, 1960-70

[In thousands]

Year	Nonagricultural establishments	Manufacturing establishments	Percent manufacturing
1960	2,351	1,211	51.5
1961	2,247	1,165	51.8
1962	2,337	1,199	51.3
1963	2,412	1,204	49.9
1964	2,518	1,238	49.1
1965	2,687	1,302	48.4
1966	2,862	1,393	48.6
1967	2,904	1,393	47.9
1968	2,978	1,387	46.5
1969	3,077	1,404	45.6
1970	2,969	1,360	45.8

Source: Manpower Report of the President, 1971, p. 266.

During the period 1960 and 1970, the unemployment rate in Michigan has been higher than that for the United States in each year except 1963, 1964, 1965 and 1966. Employment in Michigan's industries is more sensitive to the level of economic activities because of the large proportion of workers engaged in durable goods manufacturing.

Table XVII compares the unemployment rates for the United States and Michigan for the years 1960-70. In 1970, the national unemployment rate was 4.9 percent compared to 7.0 percent in Michigan. Put another way, the Michigan rate was 143 percent of the U.S. rate.

Table XVIII shows that there has been variations in the rates of unemployment in the State's major labor markets during the period 1960-70. Moreover, there are variations between the State's unemployment rate and these major labor markets. For example, the unemployment rate in Muskegon and Muskegon Heights in each year was higher than the State rate.

TABLE XVII.—TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, UNITED STATES AND MICHIGAN, 1960-70

Year	United States	Michigan
1960	5.5	6.7
1961	6.7	10.2
1962	5.5	6.9
1963	5.7	5.5
1964	5.2	4.8
1965	4.5	3.9
1966	3.8	3.5
1967	3.8	4.5
1968	3.6	4.3
1969	3.5	4.0
1970	4.9	7.0

Source: Manpower Report of the President, 1971.

TABLE XVIII.—TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATES IN MICHIGAN'S MAJOR LABOR AREAS; ANNUAL AVERAGES 1960-70

	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960
Michigan	7.0	4.0	4.3	4.5	3.5	3.9	4.8	5.5	6.9	10.2	6.7
Battle Creek	6.2	3.8	4.1	4.0	3.1	3.8	4.6	5.4	6.3	7.9	5.9
Detroit	6.6	3.6	3.9	4.1	3.2	3.5	4.3	5.2	7.0	10.9	6.8
Flint	8.0	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.4	2.7	3.3	3.3	4.2	8.9	5.0
Grand Rapids	6.5	4.5	3.8	4.1	3.2	2.8	3.9	4.3	4.6	6.2	4.9
Kalamazoo	5.2	3.3	3.6	3.4	3.0	3.1	3.5	4.5	4.5	5.7	4.7
Lansing	5.8	2.7	3.1	2.7	2.4	2.2	3.4	4.2	4.5	7.9	4.2
Muskegon-Muskegon Heights	9.4	5.9	6.7	5.1	3.8	4.5	6.0	5.6	6.2	9.2	7.8
Saginaw	5.6	3.5	3.5	4.2	2.8	2.4	2.7	3.9	5.1	8.8	5.2
United States	4.9	3.5	3.6	3.8	3.8	4.5	5.2	5.7	5.5	6.7	5.5

Source: Manpower Report of the President, 1971.

Sixty-two labor areas in Michigan—either cities or counties—had substantial or persistent levels of unemployment in October 1971. These labor areas involved 73 out of the State's 83 counties. Thus, almost the entire State is experiencing high levels of unemployment with 17 labor areas being classified as having substantial unemployment and 45 labor areas having persistent unemployment (see Table XIX).

Currently, of the eight major labor markets in Michigan, six (Battle Creek, Detroit, Flint, Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, and Saginaw) are classified as "D", which means that they have substantial unemployment of 6.0 to 8.9 percent. Lansing is a "C" group, which means a moderate rate of unemployment ranging from 3.0 to 5.9 percent. Muskegon-Muskegon Heights is in the "E" group, an area with substantial unemployment ranging from 9.0 to 11.9 percent.

TABLE XIX.—LABOR AREAS IN MICHIGAN WITH SUBSTANTIAL AND PERSISTENT UNEMPLOYMENT,¹ Oct. 1, 1971

Labor area	Substantial	Persistent
Adrian (Lenawee County).....	X	
Alger County.....		X
Allegan (Allegan County).....		X
Alma (Grafton County).....		X
Alpena (Alpena County).....		X
Ann Arbor (Washtenaw County).....	X	
Bad Axe (Huron County).....		X
Baldwin (Lake County).....		X
Battle Creek (Barry and Calhoun Counties).....	X	
Bay City (Bay County).....		X
Benton Harbor (Berrien County).....	X	
Big Rapids (Mecosta County).....	X	
Bozette City (Charlevoix County).....		X
Cadillac (Missaukee, Oseola, and Wexford Counties).....		X
Caro (Tuscola County).....		X
Cheboygan (Cheboygan County).....		X
Clare (Clare County).....		X
Coldwater (Branch County).....		X
Detroit (Macomb, Oakland, and Wayne Counties).....	X	
Dowagiac (Cass County).....		X
East (Tawas, Alcona, and Iosco Counties).....		X
Elberta (Benzie County).....		X
Escanaba (Delta County).....		X
Flint (Genesee and Lapeer Counties).....	X	
Fremont (Newaygo County).....		X
Gaylord (Otsego County).....		X
Grand Rapids (Kent and Ottawa Counties).....	X	
Grayling (Crawford County).....		X
Hancock (Houghton and Keweenaw Counties).....		X
Hart (Oceana County).....		X
Hillsdale (Hillsdale County).....	X	
Hillman (Montmorency County).....		X
Howell (Livingston County).....	X	
Ionia-Belding-Greenville (Ionia and Montcalm Counties).....		X
Iron Mountain (Dickinson County).....		X
Iron River (Iron County).....		X
Ironwood (Gogebic County).....		X
Jackson (Jackson County).....	X	
Kalamazoo (Kalamazoo County).....	X	
L'Anse (Baraga County).....		X
Ludington (Mason County).....		X
Mancelona (Antrim County).....		X
Manistee (Manistee County).....		X
Manistique (Schoolcraft County).....		X
Marquette (Alger and Marquette Counties).....	X	
Midland (Midland and Gladwin Counties).....	X	
Mio (Oscoda County).....		X
Muskegon-Muskegon Heights (Muskegon County).....		X
Newberry (Luce County).....		X
Owosso (Shiawassee County).....		X
Petoskey (Emmet County).....		X
Port Huron (St. Clair County).....		X
Rogers City (Presque Isle County).....	X	
Roscommon (Roscommon County).....	X	
Saginaw (Saginaw County).....		X
St. Ignace (Mackinac County).....		X
Sandusky (Sanilac County).....		X
Sault Ste. Marie (Chippewa County).....		X

See footnote at end of table.

TABLE XIX.—LABOR AREAS IN MICHIGAN WITH SUBSTANTIAL¹ AND PERSISTENT UNEMPLOYMENT,²
OCT 1, 1971—Continued

Labor area	Substantial	Persistent
South Haven (Van Buren County).....	X	
Standish (Arenac County).....		X
Traverse City (Grand Traverse, Kalkaska, and Leelanau Counties).....		X
West Branch (Ogemaw County).....		X

¹ Areas of substantial unemployment. A labor area in which the current and anticipated local labor supply substantially exceeds labor requirements is classified as an area of "substantial unemployment." An area is placed in this category when:

- (1) Unemployment in the area is equal to 6 percent or more of its work force, discounting seasonal or temporary factors, and
- (2) It is anticipated that the rate of unemployment during the next 2 months will remain at 6 percent or more, discounting temporary or seasonal factors.

² Areas of persistent unemployment. A labor area, or a city of 250,000 or more population, or a county, may be classified as an area of "persistent unemployment" when unemployment during the most recent calendar year has averaged 6 percent or more of the work force, and the rate of unemployment has:

- (1) Averaged 6 percent or more and has been at least 50 percent above the national average for 3 of the preceding 4 calendar years, or
- (2) Average 6 percent or more and has been at least 75 percent above the national average for 2 of the preceding 3 calendar years, or
- (3) Averaged 6 percent or more and has been at least 100 percent above the national average for 1 of the preceding 2 calendar years.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, "Area Trends in Employment and Unemployment," September 1971.

There are available data on the unemployment rates by race in Michigan for the years 1967-70 (Table XX). In 1967, the non-white unemployment rate was 2.44 times the total rate and 3.3 times higher than the unemployment rate for whites. In 1970, the non-white rate was 1.74 times higher than the state unemployment rate and twice as high as the white unemployment rate. The same pattern applies to the United States data. Blacks and other minorities experience higher unemployment rates than do white workers. As a rule of thumb, the black unemployment rate is about twice that of white.

The same pattern of white-black unemployment can be seen from the data on the Detroit SMSA (Table XXI). In each year 1968, 1969 and 1970, the unemployment rate of blacks was substantially higher than for whites, both in the SMSA and in the Central City of Detroit. In 1970, the most recent year, the black unemployment rate was 183 percent of the white rate in the SMSA and 195 percent of the white rate in the Central City.

TABLE XX.—MICHIGAN UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY COLOR, 1967-70

	Total	White	White total	Nonwhite	Nonwhite total	Nonwhite, white
Year:						
1967.....	4.5	3.3	0.73	11.0	2.44	3.3
1968.....	4.3	3.4	.79	8.2	1.90	2.4
1969.....	4.0	3.5	.87	7.6	1.90	2.1
1970.....	7.0	6.1	.87	12.2	1.74	2.0

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, "Manpower Report of the President," 1971, p. 284.

TABLE XXI.—CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN DETROIT S.M.S.A. AND CENTRAL
COLOR, AND SELECTED DATA FOR AGE AND SEX, ANNUAL AVERAGES, 1968-70
[Numbers in thousands]

	Standard metropolitan statistical area						Central city		
	Total	White	Negro and other races	Male 20 years plus	Female 20 years plus	Both sexes 16 to 19 years	Total	White	Negro and other races
1968									
Civilian labor force.....	1,600	1,330	270	960	480	160	670	440	230
Unemployed.....	61	40	21	20	19	21	34	17	17
Unemployment rate.....	3.8	3.0	7.5	2.1	3.9	13.6	5.1	3.9	7.3
1969									
Civilian labor force.....	1,650	1,360	290	980	510	170	690	440	250
Unemployed.....	67	44	23	19	24	25	38	17	21
Unemployment rate.....	4.1	3.2	7.9	1.9	4.7	14.6	5.5	3.9	8.5
1970									
Civilian labor force.....	1,690	1,400	290	980	540	170	650	410	240
Unemployed.....	119	85	33	50	33	35	54	25	29
Unemployment rate.....	7.0	6.1	11.4	5.1	6.2	20.3	8.2	6.1	11.9

Source: Manpower Report of the President, 1971, pp. 286-288.

Educational Levels

The only available data on the education of the State's population are the 1960 census data. The 1970 data on education were not readily available. The Detroit Urban Survey cited earlier contains data on the educational level of the civilian labor force by race and age for both the City of Detroit and the Detroit survey area which are reproduced in Table XXII and Table XXIII, respectively. Interesting comparisons can be made from these data.

In the City of Detroit, Table XXII. About ten percent of the civilian labor force 18 years and older had less than an 8th grade education. Seven percent of the whites and 13.4 percent of the blacks and other races had less than an eighth grade education. Over two-fifths (43.6 percent) of the total civilian labor force 18 years and over had less than 4 years of high school. Nearly two-fifths (38.5 percent) of the white workers had less than 4 years of high school compared to half (49.7 percent) of the blacks. Nearly two-fifths (39.2 percent) of the whites and over one-third of the blacks (35.5 percent) had 4 years of high school. Over one-fifth (22.3 percent) of the whites and one-seventh (14.2 percent) of the blacks had some college.

In the City of Detroit, over two-fifths (46.0 percent) of the white males 25 years old and over had less than 4 years of high school, whereas three-fifths (60.9 percent) of the black males had not completed high school. Over a third (35.8 percent) of the white females and nearly one-half (46.6 percent) black females 25 years old and over had less than a high school education. One-third (33.3 percent) of the white males and 27.3 percent of the black males had 4 years of high school. Over two-fifths (44.3 percent) of the white females and 37.3 percent of the black females had 4 years of high school. One-fifth (20.7 percent) of the white males and 11.8 percent black males had some college. A fifth (20.7 percent) of the white females also had some college, compared to 16.1 percent of black females.

TABLE XXII.—EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE IN DETROIT SURVEY AREA AND ENTIRE CITY BY AGE, SEX, AND RACE, JULY 1968 TO JUNE 1969¹

ENTIRE CITY OF DETROIT

Educational level	Both sexes 18 plus	Males 25 plus	Females 25 plus
Total—Number.....	587,700	296,900	172,700
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 8.....	9.8	14.1	7.9
8th grade.....	9.1	12.1	9.2
1 to 3 years high school.....	24.7	25.7	23.8
4 years high school.....	37.8	31.0	41.0
College.....	18.8	17.1	18.1
Median years completed.....	12.2	11.8	12.2
WHITE			
Total—Number.....	333,700	178,800	91,300
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 8.....	7.0	9.4	6.0
8th grade.....	9.7	12.1	10.4
1 to 3 years high school.....	21.8	24.5	19.4
4 years high school.....	39.2	33.3	44.3
College.....	22.3	20.7	19.8
Median years completed.....	12.3	12.1	12.3
NEGRO AND OTHER RACES			
Total—Number.....	254,000	118,100	81,500
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 8.....	13.4	21.3	9.9
8th grade.....	8.4	12.1	7.9
1 to 3 years high school.....	28.6	27.5	28.8
4 years high school.....	35.5	27.3	37.3
College.....	14.2	11.8	16.1
Median years completed.....	12.0	10.8	12.1

¹ The sum of the individual items may not equal the total due to rounding.

Source: "Poverty—The Broad Outline, Detroit," Urban Employment Survey No. 1, Detroit, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, North-Central region, p. 43.

In the Survey area, Table XXIII, nearly three-fifths (58.8 percent) of the white workers 18 years old and over and two-thirds of the black workers had less than four years of high school. About one-fourth of both white and black workers each had 4 years of high school, (26.3 percent of the whites and 26.8 percent of the blacks). Fifteen percent of the whites had some college compared to 8.2 percent of the black workers.

Two-thirds (66.7 percent) of the white males 25 years old and over have less than 4 years of high school. By comparison, three-fourths (74.2 percent) of the blacks has less than 4 years of high school. Slightly over one-fifth (22.6 percent) of the white males and about one-fifth (19.1 percent) of the black males had 4 years of high school.

Nearly three-fifths (57.5 percent) of the white females 25 years of age and about two-thirds (64.6 percent) of the black females have less than 4 years of high school. Roughly one-fourth of both groups each had 4 years of high school, 25 percent of the whites and 26.5 percent of the blacks. The proportion of white females with some college is double that of black females, 25 years old and over, 17.5 percent of the whites and 8.8 percent of the blacks.

TABLE XXIII.—EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE IN DETROIT SURVEY AREA AND ENTIRE CITY BY AGE, SEX, AND RACE, JULY 1968 TO JUNE 1969¹

DETROIT SURVEY AREA			
Educational level	Both sexes, 18 plus	Males, 25 plus	Females 25 plus
Total—Number	52,700	27,000	15,300
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 8	19.3	27.0	16.4
8th grade	11.9	14.4	12.5
1 to 3 years high school	32.0	30.0	34.2
4 years high school	26.5	20.4	26.3
College	10.2	8.1	10.5
Median years completed	10.8	9.8	10.8
WHITE			
Total—Number	16,000	9,300	4,000
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 8	16.3	20.4	15.0
8th grade	15.6	18.3	15.0
1 to 3 years high school	26.9	28.0	27.5
4 years high school	26.3	22.6	25.0
College	15.0	10.8	17.5
Median years completed	11.1	10.2	11.2
NEGRO AND OTHER RACES			
Total—Number	36,700	17,700	11,300
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 8	20.5	30.9	16.3
8th grade	10.4	12.4	11.5
1 to 3 years high school	34.2	30.9	36.3
4 years high school	26.8	19.1	26.5
College	8.2	6.7	8.8
Median years completed	10.7	9.6	10.8

¹ The sum of the individual items may not equal the total due to rounding.

Source: Poverty—The Broad Outline, Detroit, Urban Employment Survey, Report No. 1, Detroit, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, north-central region, p. 42.

Taxes—State and Local

State and local taxes are taking a larger proportion of Michigan's adjusted disposable income. (Adjusted disposable income is defined as personal income less personal taxes and non-tax payments plus local and state personal income taxes). Taxes as used here includes all state taxes, local property and local income taxes. As Table XXIV indicates in 1959, local and state taxes as a part of disposable income was just under 10 percent, and in 1969 these taxes took 12.9 percent. The percentage began to increase in the early 1960's. In the mid 1960's as a result of high levels of economic activity personal income increased at a faster rate than taxes. Accordingly, the tax share of income declined in the years 1964-1966. In the 1967 the tax increases outpaced income gains. The average annual growth rate for adjusted disposable income during the 10-year period was 6.6 percent whereas state and local taxes increased on the average of 9.5 percent annually. During the decade adjusted disposable income increased 90 percent compared to 115 percent gain in local taxes and 180 percent rise in state taxes.

TABLE XXIV.—MICHIGAN STATE AND LOCAL TAXES IN RELATIONSHIP TO DISPOSABLE INCOME 1959-69

Fiscal year	Taxes as a percent of disposable income ¹	Fiscal year	Taxes as a percent of disposable income ¹
1959.....	9.9	1965.....	10.5
1960.....	10.5	1966.....	10.4
1961.....	11.2	1967.....	10.6
1962.....	11.0	1968.....	11.7
1963.....	11.3	1969.....	12.9
1964.....	10.8		

¹ Adjusted to include State and local income taxes.

Source: Michigan Bell Business Trends—November 1970.

Poverty Index

Mr. W. E. Vredevoogd, Rural Manpower Center, Michigan State University, has constructed a poverty index for Michigan counties as shown in Table XXV. The index represents four different measures of poverty: (1) The percentage of each county's population earning less than \$3,000 annually,* (2) the percent of the labor force currently unemployed, (3) the percent of the population with four or less years of schooling, (4) the percentage of homes and dwellings in disrepair. In constructing his index, he used 1960 data or calculations based on these data. The index was constructed in such a way that a high score would indicate high levels of poverty. The counties with a high poverty index generally are located north of a line from Muskegon to Bay City. These counties are primarily rural. The counties with a low poverty index are located in the southern part of the State where the bulk of the State's population resides in urban areas.

TABLE XXV.—POVERTY INDEX SCORES FOR MICHIGAN COUNTIES¹

Rank	County	Score	Rank	County	Score
1st quartile:			2d quartile:		
01.....	Macomb.....	29.9	22.....	Benzie.....	65.0
02.....	Oakland.....	30.4	23.....	Monroe.....	57.1
03.....	Calhoun.....	36.5	24.....	Allegan.....	57.3
04.....	Ottawa.....	37.1	25.....	Ionia.....	60.6
05.....	Kent.....	37.2	26.....	Livingston.....	60.8
06.....	Kalamazoo.....	37.4	27.....	Charlevoix.....	62.2
07.....	Ingham.....	37.5	28.....	Lenawee.....	63.3
08.....	Washtenaw.....	38.9	29.5.....	Cass.....	63.6
09.....	Genesee.....	41.6	29.5.....	Alpena.....	63.6
10.....	Midland.....	43.0	31.....	Grand Traverse.....	63.9
11.....	Berrien.....	43.1	32.....	Barry.....	64.8
12.....	Wayne.....	45.2	33.....	Branch.....	66.4
13.....	Muskegon.....	46.4	34.....	Huron.....	67.4
14.....	St. Clair.....	47.9	35.....	Marquette.....	68.2
15.....	Jackson.....	48.6	36.....	Hillsdale.....	68.3
16.....	Saginaw.....	49.0	37.....	Isabella.....	68.7
17.....	Eaton.....	51.8	38.....	Tuscola.....	70.0
18.5.....	Shiawassee.....	52.4	39.....	Iosco.....	70.4
18.5.....	Bay.....	52.4	40.....	Gratiot.....	71.6
20.....	St. Joseph.....	52.8	41.....	Wexford.....	71.9
21.....	Clinton.....	55.1	42.....	Delta.....	72.9

*See Table IX for listing of counties by levels of income.

Rank	County	Score	Rank	County	Score
3d quartile:			4th quartile:		
43	Lapeer	73.2	64	Antrim	92.0
44	Dickinson	75.2	65	Mecosta	93.7
45	Emmet	75.5	66	Arenac	95.0
46	Manistee	76.0	67	Saginaw	95.4
47	Menominee	76.8	68	Gladwin	96.3
48	Presque Isle	77.6	69	Mackinac	96.7
49	Van Buren	78.8	70	Houghton	97.2
50	Nason	79.4	71	Oscoda	99.2
51	Montcalm	79.8	72	Ontonagon	99.4
52	Gogebic	80.6	73	Schoolcraft	99.6
53	Otsego	82.1	74	Clare	102.6
54	Iron	82.3	75	Keweenaw	104.2
55	Leelanau	84.0	76	Alcona	104.9
56	Roscommon	87.7	77	Luce	106.0
57	Oceana	87.8	78	Kalkaska	107.5
58	Crawford	88.5	79	Alger	109.9
59	Chippewa	89.3	80	Ogemaw	111.6
60	Missaukee	89.8	81	Montmorency	115.1
61	Oscoda	91.1	82	Baraga	126.4
62	Newaygo	91.5	83	Lake	129.5
63	Cheboygan	91.6			

¹ Prepared from 1960 census data by W. E. Vredevoogd. The index consists of the sum of 4 percentages, percent earning \$3,000 or less, percent unemployed, percent functionally illiterate, percent houses in bad repair. Highest possible score is thus 4×100 percent=400.

Source: Rural Poverty in Michigan, Rept. No. 21, November 1970, W. E. Vredevoogd, Rural Manpower Center, Michigan State University, p. 20.

Welfare Cases

Another social indicator is the number of individuals on AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children in Michigan). The number of cases and the number of children receiving such assistance has increased significantly during the years 1960-1971. In 1960, the average monthly number of cases was 26,580 involving 69,249 children. By 1971, there were 101,039 average (monthly) number of cases with 279,487 children. Thus in this twelve years the number of cases increased 295 percent while the number of children receiving assistance rose 303 percent. (See Table XXV.)

TABLE XXVI.—NUMBER OF AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN (AFDC) MICHIGAN, FISCAL YEARS 1960-71

Fiscal year—	Average (monthly) number of cases	Average number (monthly) of children	Fiscal year—	Average (monthly) number of cases	Average number (monthly) of children
1960	26,580	69,249	1966	38,328	117,114
1961	27,481	72,593	1967	38,477	119,643
1962	31,763	84,093	1968	44,780	138,449
1963	33,301	89,318	1969	50,494	153,576
1964	38,067	98,002	1970	64,696	190,025
1965	39,722	101,500	1971	101,039	279,487

Source: Department of Social Services, State of Michigan.

Student Enrollment

The racial and ethnic composition of the state's population is reflected in the enrollments in the public schools. In both school years 1968-1969 and 1969-1970, the proportion of whites, blacks, Spanish surnames, and Indians remained about the same. As indicated in Table XXVII below, whites accounted for 85 percent of the enrollment, blacks 13 percent, Spanish surname 1.3 percent, and Indians 0.2 percent. The number of Spanish surname students increased 13 percent during these two years, from 24,833 to 28,051. Although blacks represent 11.2 percent of the state's population, black students account for 13.2 percent of student enrollments in 1969-70.

TABLE XXVII.—RACIAL—ETHNIC ENROLLMENT, MICHIGAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1968-70

	1968-69		1969-70		Change 1968-70	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Spanish surnamed.....	24,933	1.2	28,051	1.3	3,118	12.5
Negro.....	274,272	13.3	283,219	13.2	8,947	3.2
White.....	1,752,047	85.1	1,821,621	85.0	69,574	3.9
American Indian.....	4,499	.2	4,857	.2	358	.8

Source: School Racial-Ethnic Census, 1969-70, Michigan Department of Education.

Title I Eligibility

Another rough socio-economic measurement of Michigan is the number of eligible students under Title I programs (Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 as amended). In 1971-72, according to the Michigan Department of Education, public school enrollment is estimated to be 2,200,137 students (24.8 percent of the 1970 population census.) Of this number of 232,051 students or 10.5 percent are estimated to be eligible for Title I programs. The majority of these students are concentrated in the major cities of the State. For example, Detroit has 85,000 eligible students or 37 percent of the State's total.

The estimated number of students eligible for Title I programs in Michigan is determined as follows: (1) Children in AFDC families receiving more than \$2,000; (2) Using 1960 census data, the number of children in families with incomes less than \$2,000; (3) All children in foster homes; (4) All children in institutions served by the public schools such as orphanages. The school district determine which children in their districts are eligible to participate using the above criteria. The annual family income maximum used is roughly \$6,000. Although the number of students can be estimated, no data are available as to the number of families represented by the total number of eligible students.

Estimated Expenditures for Public Education

Table XXVIII shows the estimated expenditures for public elementary and secondary education for the United States and Michigan for 1968 and 1969. For the United States as a whole, the expenditures per pupil were \$750 in 1968 and \$834 in 1969, a gain of 11 percent. In Michigan, the expenditures rose from \$782 to \$821, an increase of 5 percent. On the average, the country is spending more per pupil than is the State of Michigan.

In 1968, the nation spent 4.77 percent of its personal income for elementary and secondary education and 4.93 percent in 1969, a gain of 3.4 percent.

In Michigan by comparison, the expenditure as a percent of percent of personal income rose from 4.85 percent to 4.95, a gain of 2.1 percent. The data show that the gap between expenditures as a percent of personal income for the country as a whole and Michigan narrowing appreciably between 1968 and 1969.

TABLE XXVIII.—ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, UNITED STATES AND MICHIGAN, RELATED TO NUMBER OF PUPILS IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE AND PERSONAL INCOME, FISCAL YEARS 1968 AND 1969

	Total expenditures (thousands)	Expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance	Expenditure as a percent of personal income
1968:			
United States.....	31,511,951	750	4.77
Michigan.....	1,510,000	782	4.85
1969:			
United States.....	33,511,170	834	4.93
Michigan.....	1,647,000	821	4.95

Source: Economic Report of the Governor, Michigan, 1971, p. 161.

Implications of the data for Public Education :

1. The 1970 population data show a growing black population, especially in the urban areas. This suggests that the problems of desegregation in the public schools will become accentuated especially in view of the continuous out migration of whites from the central city to the suburbs. The State Department of Education must assume its general leadership role as provided in the State's Constitution in providing high quality equal educational opportunity.

2. The 1970 population data show that smaller urban cities in the southern part of the state have experienced significant increases in black population. This suggests the need to expand in-service training programs for the teaching staffs of those districts in the broad area of sensitivity and awareness.

3. The relatively large proportion of workers, both white and black, with less than a high school diploma suggests the need for more relevant educational programs that will reduce the number of school dropouts, estimated to be 50,000 in 1970. The problem of school dropouts in Michigan is further complicated by in state migration of families with children particularly from the South and Southwest. For example, the number of students with Spanish surnames, while small as a percent of the total student enrollment is growing. At least some proportion of this group of students are dropouts from the migrant stream. Much more attention must be given to the educational problems of the Spanish surname students who must adjust to a new social environment in Michigan.

4. School districts in sparsely settled areas, especially in both the Northern part of the Lower Peninsula and in the Upper Peninsula, just do not have the economic base to generate sufficient incomes to provide quality education for their students. Steps must be taken to revamp the current method of financing public education which relies heavily on property taxes. The tax base, in too many instances, is a function of history and geography.

5. The rising proportion of adjustable personal income going for taxes may account for the growing number of instances where property owners have rejected increases in millage to support their district school systems. The opportunity to make their collective voice heard is limited, so where and when they can exercise their ballot they do so. As noted above, new ways to finance public education must be instituted.

6. The decline in self-employment and the growth in the proportion of wage and salary workers underscore the importance of the job economy. In Michigan and in the nation, self-employment has been declining, while working as an employee in business, industry and government has been steadily increasing. As a result, we have become a nation of employees. In Michigan in 1960, 89 percent of the non-farm labor force was composed of employees and by 1970, the proportion of employees was 92 percent. Consequently, the job has become the most important economic activity in the lives of most Americans because it is the job which provides the central means of earning income, income to pay taxes to support the public education system. This development puts into sharp focus the need to have students who can read, write and do arithmetic well. These are basic skills which can improve the employability of students, most of whom will eventually enter the world of work. The public school system must take this important fact in consideration in curriculum development and emphases.

7. The changing nature of employment from goods producing to services suggest the need for more emphasis on social and interpersonal skills in school curriculum as well as on the three R's.

8. Since Michigan is a high wage paying state, it must be recognized that newcomers (Blacks from the South, farmworkers dropping out of the migrant stream) to the state may have their income increased significantly due to employment in high paying but relatively unskilled jobs. Consequently, federal guidelines for compensatory programs may negate participation of those school districts which need special remedial programs but whose family incomes disqualify them. There is therefore need to develop guidelines for Federal programs which use other criteria in addition to income.

In summary the socio-economic indicators can serve as a useful guide for the public, the legislature, school boards, school administrators and teaching staffs to analyze their school systems. Analyses standing alone are not enough. Analyses must lead to action which will result in a public school system which meets the needs of the students and the society of which they are a part. In the final analyses the ultimate indicator is the degree to which the student can find a useful and meaningful role for himself in the society.

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FROM RONALD EDMONDS

ACCOUNTABILITY IN EDUCATION

An Address by Dr. John W. Porter
Michigan State Superintendent
of Public Instruction

Michigan Department of Education

State Board of Education

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James F. O'Neil Livonia	Jan. 1, 1975
Dr. John W. Porter, <i>Superintendent of Public Instruction, Chairman, Ex-Officio</i>	
William G. Milliken, <i>Governor Member, Ex-Officio</i>	

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ACCOUNTABILITY IN EDUCATION

*An Address by
Dr. John W. Porter
Michigan State Superintendent of Public Instruction*

Delivered at Conferences on Educational Accountability

*The Washington Hilton
Washington, D. C.
Monday, March 22, 1971*

and

*Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel
Hollywood, California
Monday, March 29, 1971*

There are three aspects to the topic I am to discuss at this afternoon session. But before talking about these three aspects, a general definition of accountability in public education seems in order:

Accountability is not performance contracting. Accountability is not program budgeting (P.P.B.S.). Accountability is not cost effectiveness. It is not testing nor is it merit pay for teachers, or a means of relieving teachers of their jobs.

Accountability is the guarantee that all students, without respect to race, income or social class, will acquire the minimum school skills necessary to take full advantage of the choices that accrue upon successful completion of public schooling, or we in education will describe the reasons why.

What accountability probably means to the adult layman is returning in part to what existed in the 30's and 40's; a move away from the so-called permissive days of the 50's and 60's. But this time instead of the "produce, slide through or fail" responsibility being on the student, the accountability emphasis is envisioned as a "produce or change" concept assigned as the responsibility of the educational establishment.

For a moment, let me share with you the beliefs that I have, and that I believe we should all have, in regard to public education, and why there is a need for educational accountability.

First, I believe that public education must guarantee that nearly all of the young people—those children in our elementary schools—will acquire competencies in the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic, regardless of their socio-economic background. This does not mean any leveling off on the development of the whole child. It does mean altering the educational delivery system in whatever way is necessary to insure that the daughter of the unskilled ghetto worker gains from the kindergarten the educational choices that presently accrue to the son of a college professor.

Secondly, I believe that our public education, particularly in the secondary schools must be programmed in such a way that the students will feel their secondary school experience is equipping them to be effective citizens in the adult society of the 21st Century. We should be concerned when we see that perhaps two-thirds of all the work we do in our secondary schools is done to prepare 35 percent of our young people to go to college when at the same time, nationally we have a third of our entering ninth graders failing to graduate.

For counseling effectiveness, we need to strongly consider the use of public relations persons on loan from business and industry to the secondary schools to supplement the professionally-oriented counselors. If the status of the world of work is to change to meet existing manpower needs, and if we are to demonstrate that everyone doesn't need to go to college to teach, we could well benefit from this "outside" contact for our pupils on a regular basis, not just the "career day" type of exposure.

We should also be concerned about the accountability of a system that seems to get the 6' 5" basketball or football star through the academic mazes and to an attractive salary, while being ill-equipped to meet the needs of his 5'6" brother.

Third, I believe acceptable public education is going to require that we educators be responsible for seeking out, establishing and coordinating effective programs of adult continuing education which meet the needs of welfare mothers, the underemployed, the housewives and the everyday workers that want some vocational skills.

When our educational system is so streamlined and so exceptional that it is able to respond to the needs of most of our 200 million citizens in regard to these goals, then and only then will we be carrying out our educational commitment to the citizens of our country and be achieving a degree of accountability.

Dr. Leon Lessinger, former Associate Commissioner for Elementary and Secondary Education in the U.S. Office of Education, stated: "Today the questions focus on results obtained for resources used. The questions are pointed, insistent and abrasive."

I for one welcome the questions and hopefully we as a profession will want to respond to them with alacrity.

The challenge is clear in my mind and I hope in yours. We must start to guarantee student performance, one aspect of accountability in the future; and you don't do this by instituting remedial programs to correct deficiencies in secondary schools. We must begin to guarantee year by year growth, starting in the elementary schools. Such an undertaking presupposes clearly spelled out performance objectives and criteria references for measurement. Criterion references for measuring student performance would presuppose an agreed upon level of competency in tasks that were being undertaken by the students.

Many of the principles underlying performance contracts and the more general concept of accountability when put together are worthy of consideration and utilization by all teachers. We will have accountability in the future. Accountability should be welcomed by the teaching profession, since the ultimate result is improved teacher performance and possible increased teacher salaries, not abdication of professional prerogatives.

Several aspects of accountability we can expect in the future which are currently being looked upon with skepticism are:

1. *Paying for results rather than promises.*
2. *Designing performance objectives to evaluate the instructional procedures.*
3. *Identifying each student's characteristics and entrance level.*
4. *Specifying in advance desired outcomes of individual student performance.*
5. *Testing the instructional sequences to see if they achieve what they purport to achieve.*
6. *Reordering instructional strategies and personnel based upon student needs, abilities, interest and attitudes.*

7. *Involving the parents of the community in the educational process right in the classroom.*

8. *Informing students, parents and taxpaying citizens what we can and cannot do in a given situation and why.*

These eight factors are difficult to refute. They answer the very basic question of "What if a student does not reach the objectives?" That is, we as educators have to be prepared in the future to tell students and their parents that the student hasn't achieved; he needs more summer work, or extended day or week help, or the diploma he will receive is for attendance, not achievement. Accountability of the future means not passing students from level to level because of chronological age and presence in the daily classroom.

The eight factors cited are difficult to incorporate into everyday classroom use given the way classrooms are now organized. But accountability in the final analysis is nothing more than better management by the teacher in the classroom, by the principal in his or her office and by the superintendent at his conference table. For this simple reason, accountability will become almost a household word and acceptance is the future of accountability that is assured.

In the December, 1970 issue of the *Phi Delta Kappan*, Myron Lieberman, as guest editor, wrote:

"If the public schools do not develop acceptable criteria and procedures for accountability, they will stimulate the emergence of accountability through alternative school systems, i.e., the voucher system. To put it bluntly, if school systems do not begin to do a better job of relating school costs to educational outcomes, they are likely to be faced with a growing demand for alternatives to public schools. These alternatives may not be better—and may be even worse than the public schools. Nevertheless, it is difficult to see how public school educators could argue this point effectively unless and until they develop more effective ways of being accountable to their patrons."

Accountability, whether or not we want it, is going to be a part of the educational scene in the 70's. The important issue for teachers and administrators is that the failures of the past and

present cannot be allowed to rest solely upon the shoulders of the educational community. If we accept this, then let us look at these three questions:

I. What educational improvement is it reasonable to expect for the future application of techniques of accountability? How will they be obtained?

II. What are the probable sources of resistance to accountability, and how can such resistance from within and from outside the educational institution be overcome?

III. What important defects in the educational system are likely to remain unaffected by accountability?

Let us now review some of the possible educational improvements which might come about as a result of using techniques of accountability.

I.

Schools traditionally have not been problem-solving agencies. Schools traditionally have not focused upon cost effective management techniques in the classrooms. And most schools have not been held responsible for student performance.

Future improvements in education as a result of innovative techniques will be based in part upon the development of two specific types of information by local school districts.

1. *Improved and more comprehensive student performance measures in the cognitive as well as affective domains, and*
2. *Improved and more specific performance objectives related to the functions and contributions of teachers, principals, administrators, school boards and the parents of students.*

At present, such information does not to a great extent exist in school systems. As a result, a major consideration in moving toward accountability must be development of data gathering information systems and analytical assessment of the data gathered.

If properly managed, such an arrangement should result in a school system operation based upon some clearly spelled out objectives. Felix M. Lopex labeled this "management by objectives" in a recent article entitled "Accountability in Education."

This process requires a school district:

1. *to identify the common goals at all grade levels for all subjects provided;*

2. *to think through its management procedures or delivery system in terms of pre-testing and post-testing as they relate to responsibilities of teachers;*
3. *to evaluate each student's performance in accordance with some overall efforts, or specify why such performance cannot be achieved. If we fail to evaluate, while we may know exactly what we are doing, we will never know what we have done;*
4. *to assure that school district goals are translated into performance objectives understood by students and parents alike;*
5. *to reach an understanding of steps to take when the child does not reach the minimum level of proficiency at the originally agreed upon specified time.*

To amplify or clarify these points in terms of educational improvements which might be derived by the application of techniques of accountability, one needs to look at what our common goals are in terms of "grade level" performance. In essence four educational improvements should emerge:

1. *Improved teacher classroom management and professional performance;*
2. *Improved student academic achievement especially by the lower half of the classroom distribution;*
3. *Improved student attitudes and behavior;*
4. *Improved reporting of student progress in terms of student-school-community relations.*

Further techniques of accountability should help remove the "blackboard curtain" created by the construction of classrooms on a 30 to 1 basis. Accountability to be effective will have to permeate through the closed-door classroom. Thus each teacher working with parents and others at each level will have to decide what exactly are the classroom expectations. In the fourth grade for example, we must ask, "What is it we want fourth graders to know when they have finished a year in our classroom?"

This concept of accountability focuses upon educational improvements by level and subject and as some have suggested could result in a marriage between technology and personal pedagogy, with the emphasis on measuring individual student progress.

Another dimension of the future of accountability for improv-

ing education must result in less student absenteeism, fewer dropouts, less special education, less fear of actually failing a grade, or less fear of "sliding through" feeling inadequate for the next level, lower teacher turnover and less family mobility during the school year.

The improvements I have described will be obtained through local initiative resulting in a reordering of priorities, from successful performance contract arrangements, from new leadership directives, from state departments of education and from State and Federal appropriation specifications.

Let us now talk about our second basic question—who will oppose accountability, and how can we overcome such opposition?

II.

There are significant numbers of individuals in at least eight groups that may oppose the concept of accountability as I have defined it: (1) students, (2) teachers and principals, (3) central administrative staff, (4) school board members, (5) taxpayers, (6) legislators, (7) teacher training instructors, and (8) state department of education personnel.

Some students may resist the concept since it will focus on their performance in certain areas. Common educational objectives are desired; however, when these conflict with individual student preferences, an accommodation must be reached. Such accommodation, however, does not mean acquiescing, but spelling out in clear, precise language the alternatives available.

Some teachers may not support the accountability concept because it implies that their work is being evaluated—and this is disconcerting to some individuals. In addition, some teachers' associations may oppose the concept on the basis that it implies an evaluation of the entire teaching profession.

Some central administrators, including middle management, may resist the concept of accountability—not because of a desire to avoid involvement, but because it may imply that outside assistance be brought in. This assistance may be a threat to the established practices of administrators. However, one of the major fallacies of educational management is that all, or nearly all, schools must be run in the same manner: they start at promptly 8:30 a.m. and close at exactly 3:30 p.m.; students are enclosed in

units called "classrooms" except when they are allowed outside for recess or to pass between classes; all students are given the same curricula; and so on. The accountability concept may seriously challenge standardized practices—particularly in school systems when significant proportions of students have been shown to be failing.

It is likely that school board members will generally favor the accountability concept as it holds the promise of alleviating educational problems at little cost; however, if the concept is seen as one that requires additional monies, it is likely that many school boards will balk at the idea. Local taxpayers, too, will favor the idea—so long as it does not cost additional tax dollars.

State legislators are a mixed lot of ideologies and experiences, and they carry a variety of expectations for the schools. It is difficult to predict their feelings as a group—however, they will carefully scrutinize any concept that may cost additional monies and one senses that they are currently not as appreciative of how well the public schools are working as they might be, in some situations with justification.

Teacher training institutions are frequently wary of innovations. It seems as if evaluations are conducted, but we too seldom see actual changes in practice. Why does this occur? Who, or what, stills the program? It is likely that increased accountability in the elementary and secondary school settings will result in increased pressure on the teacher trainers and their administrators to turn out more graduates who can guarantee performance.

Finally, some staff members of state departments of education will resist the concept because it will mean a drastic re-ordering of priorities and activities for them. The States are thought by many to be constitutionally responsible for education. If States are to take a leadership role in exercising this responsibility, it is likely that at least six implications will emerge.

1. *State departments may be required to standardize educational assessment of pupil progress;*
2. *State departments may be required to develop uniform local budgetary procedures;*
3. *State departments may be required to establish procedures for equalizing financial resources by district;*
4. *State departments may be required to adopt guidelines for the reorganization of school districts;*

5. *State departments may be required to get involved in teacher negotiations;*
6. *State departments may be required to move from locally defined regulatory service and consultative subservient agencies to monitoring and management support agencies.*

Chief State School Officers and State Boards of Education will have to assume a leadership role not only in establishing in-service training for their own staffs, but also for encouraging regional staffs within their States to tune in, as well as establish immediate discussions with the various professional groups directly affected by the concept.

In responding to the second part of this question, let me state, there is no panacea to overcome the resistance to accountability however, the complete involvement of those directly affected will help. Aaron Wildorsky, writing in the *Phi Delta Kappan* journal in December, 1970, is right when he states, "no plan for accountability can succeed unless all the major participants in the educational process . . . see something in it for themselves."

Many good teachers may, with the proper involvement in accountability, overcome the emotional trauma of having a class of failing students, if shown how such techniques can provide direction and support against arbitrary administrative decisions. At the same time, principals may begin to view accountability as an added leverage for dealing with the ineffective teacher. The other six groups of the eight, once involved and when we have identified clearly the specific benefits for them, may accept the pain of raising more money, for example, rather than opposing the concept. Different strategies and forces would be the deciding factors, based on the local and state conditions. In any event, communication in regard to the accountability concepts must be conveyed in such a way that all groups can accept the ultimate objectives, improved educational performance, at cost which can be justified.

We have talked about what accountability can do, and how to go about getting it, and we have talked about some of the difficulties of obtaining accountability.

Let's now look at what are some of our problems that accountability cannot overcome.

III.

As mentioned, implementation of the accountability concept will not alleviate all of the problems of our educational system. A number of vexing socio-educational views will remain, including:

- (1) the issue of how monies should be allocated to schools in order to best facilitate equality of educational opportunity;
- (2) The issue of how educational monies should be collected in order to best facilitate an adequate and fair source of school support;
- (3) the issue of how teachers should be certified to teach in the schools in order to facilitate our best college students going into the professions with the best possible preparation;
- (4) the issue of constructing school facilities that will adequately and fairly serve the next generation of students;
- (5) the issue of how the often ponderous educational bureaucracy can best be organized so as to facilitate a new sense of urgency and of innovative leadership that will respond more adequately and quickly to societal needs; and
- (6) the complex issues surrounding student disinterest and disaffection which mirror a more pervasive societal crisis.

In summary, I have defined accountability of the future as a quality or state of education whereby educational institutions take responsibility for insuring that their students reach agreed-upon and clearly-defined educational objectives, or explain why not. I have further discussed two aspects of accountability: (1) possible benefits to the educational system that may result from widespread adoption of the concept, and (2) possible sources of resistance to accountability. As a third point, I have spoken briefly of the problems that face us—and will still face us even if we attempt to hold our schools "accountable."

Let me conclude by stating that I think the movement toward accountability in education can be a healthy one as it can help to insure that all children will be served by the schools. However, let me also close with a warning: accountability for the future is not a panacea; the major problems of this society and its schools will not be solved without a national, state and local re-ordering of priorities and without an equalization of the educational, social, and political opportunities available to our children, youth and adults.

Maybe the most beneficial outcome of the future in accountability will be a complete shift in the role of the school, which has up to now professed to be committed to meeting the needs of all the children of all of the people. This possible overstatement, sadly to say, is one of the big reasons for the current controversy over public schools. Accountability, more than any other single concept, will in the future force all of us as educators to examine this all embracing goal or American ideal. We need to seriously ask ourselves, "Are there institutions other than the school that might be or could be used to assist some of the children of some of the people in accomplishing some of the tasks?"

The future of accountability, whether the emphasis remains on efforts to relate "educational inputs" to "student output", or whether the emphasis is on patron choice, that is vouchers, free schools, open enrollments or parochialism, school officials will in the future have to face each issue by answering clearly six specific questions.

1. *What are the common and specific goals to which the teacher and school is striving?*
2. *What student, community or societal needs inventories are available, on paper, to indicate change strategies which should be undertaken?*
3. *What specific and measurable performance objectives have been written down that would enable parents, students and teachers to understand the minimum expectations of the unstructured programs?*
4. *What analysis of the existing delivery system is available to indicate that the current educational input approach is manageable and defensible as compared to alternatives?*
5. *What forms of testing and evaluation will be undertaken to enable the "at large community" to know whether or not the delivery system measured up to the performance predictions?*
6. *What recommendations are the school systems ready to make as a result of the testing and evaluation data?*

Perhaps we have always had accountability—we always checked out what went into education—facilities, materials, attendance, hot lunches—but too inconsistently did we "do something" new about what came forth; what pupils learned; what skills were obtained. In fact, we went out of our way to find excuses for

those children who did not learn—broken homes, language barriers, ethnic or national background, malnutrition. That is, we placed too much responsibility for success upon the student and his parents. But, if the student didn't perform, we began passing him up the educational ladder anyway. What is envisioned now is a strengthening of the role of the teacher, so that he or she is not placed in such a situation. The future, as accountability becomes firmly entrenched, will allow for very few excuses. We educators will be responsible for failure, and the exciting, fantastic goal before us is to have achievement realized by nearly the total school population, and I am convinced the educational community, at least in Michigan, will respond to this challenge.

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A Position Statement on

EDUCATIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY

for improved instructional services
at the elementary and secondary
levels in Michigan.

MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

LANSING, MICHIGAN

October 11, 1971

STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

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James F. O'Neil Livonia -----	Jan. 1, 1975
Dr. John W. Porter, Superintendent of Public Instruction Chairman, Ex-Officio	
William G. Milliken, Governor Member, Ex-Officio	

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The purpose of this position statement is to place in proper perspective the role of the State Board of Education in implementing an accountability model for improving the delivery of educational services to the children and youth of the state of Michigan.

The model highlights the need for common goals of education, development of performance objectives rather than textbook completion, assessing needs, changing the ways in which teachers teach, providing outside educational audits to determine if changes have indeed taken place, in addition to guaranteed in-service professional development.

John W. Porter

Superintendent of Public Instruction

I

BACKGROUND

From time to time it is appropriate for the State Board of Education to step back a pace or two and take stock of the organizational aims and operational objectives of the total educational enterprise in Michigan. Attached hereto are five graphic presentations designed to afford such an opportunity. It might be said that such evaluation is designed to prevent us all from becoming blind to the forest because our attention is concentrated on the trees.

Over the course of the last 24 months or so, the Department of Education has devoted a great deal of collective attention to developing an overall accountability model in public education.

The many specific attempts to achieve greater accountability may be condensed into six general categories, or thrusts. These are:

1. Identification, discussion and dissemination of common goals for Michigan Education.
2. Approaches to educational challenges based on performance objectives consistent with the goals.
3. Assessment of educational needs not being met, and which must be met to achieve performance objectives and goals.
4. Analysis of the existing (or planned) educational delivery systems in light of what assessment tells us.
5. Evaluation and testing within the new or existing delivery system to make sure it serves the assessed needs.
6. Recommendations for improvement based upon the above.

Basically, this accountability model may be applied to any aspect of the educational enterprise in Michigan and, if it is properly understood, it will tell us a great deal about educational directions for the future.

To some, consideration of an accountability model or new elements in education has appeared to represent a threat or a challenge to historically developed educational approaches, and a judgement as to the efficacy of such approaches at this point in time. No threat is intended, but each of us must find challenge in consideration of the new educational elements, and there must be general recognition

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that whatever its strengths and weaknesses, the historically developed system of educational services does not today serve effectively all of the children and youth entrusted to our care.

There is a clear message in the legions of statistics and studies compiled over the last few years: Too many youngsters quit school at an early age, and too many youngsters who "graduate from high school" are ill-prepared, or disinclined, or both, to pursue either further education or productive labor -- in short, enter into adulthood -- in the free enterprise milieu of our nation today.

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II

BUILDING THE ACCOUNTABILITY MODEL

The staff of the Michigan Department of Education has taken a good deal of time looking at new elements in the delivery of educational services. Such elements include:

- (1) Compensatory education
- (2) Experimental programs and demonstration schools
- (3) Performance contracting
- (4) Year-around schooling
- (5) School meals improvement
- (6) Alternative occupational scheduling
- (7) Coordinated career education
- (8) Student financial assistance
- (9) Expanded utilization of facilities
- (10) Neighborhood education centers
- (11) Improved professional development

To some, the approach to these elements and others may have appeared to be compartmentalized. It is not. Instead, the consideration of these elements has been and continues to be integrated in what may be termed a comprehensive "state approach to improved elementary and secondary services to children and youth." (panel 1)

In order to achieve improvement in the approach to provision of elementary and secondary services, it is essential to start with an understanding of the inter-relatedness of new and traditional elements in education. Such elements include, of course, the ideas and approaches which have recently been our major concern, and they also include the mechanisms and traditions, the practices and procedures -- even the physical facilities -- historically involved with the provision of education to children in Michigan. It has been the task and the aim, in a nutshell, to "build accountability into the educational system." (panel 2)

Only in viewing the educational needs of children and youth as, in effect, a continuum beginning at about age three and ending (for elementary and secondary purposes) at about age 18 can there be assurance of finding the organizational and operational means of

achieving desired ends. Such a continuum may be plotted horizontally or vertically; it may be discussed in terms of any sort of analogy -- a football game, for example -- but its message is clear and can be viewed graphically. (panel 3)

In constructing and using such a continuum, it is necessary to start with only one premise, and one corollary of that premise:

THE PREMISE: Public education's primary task is meeting the needs of all children and youth as they prepare for adulthood.

THE COROLLARY: The needs of all children and youth (or any child or youth) include continued and monitored educational progress through the years of required formal schooling (and a little beyond), and readiness and adequacy for (1) a job, (2) satisfactory interpersonal relationships, (3) college, (4) other continuing education, and (5) citizenship. (NOTE: None of the five "readiness outcomes" need be exclusive of the others, but since maturation rates and interests are widely divergent, it may be assumed for purposes of generalization that readiness and adequacy for any one is sufficient evidence of "successful" educational development.)

It may help, in considering the continuum, to begin by leap-frogging from the start of school to graduation. The question posed by such a leap in time is, "what is it that a child or youth should know and be able to do at graduation?" One simple response that few would challenge is "to assume one's role as an adult." This suggests adequate preparation for continuing education, a job, marriage, and citizenship.

If that is reasonable, efforts must be made to assist the child to achieve a number of intermediate steps on the way to this goal. These intermediate steps can be identified as follows: (1) completion of the pre-school years (roughly, ages 3-4-5 years old) with measurable readiness for entry into the primary school (grades 1, 2, 3) milieu; (2) measurable progress through the primary years (ages 6-7-8) which results in readiness for elementary school (grades 4, 5 and 6); (3) adequate assimilation of basic skills, knowledge and abilities in the elementary years (ages 9-10-11) in preparation for middle or junior high school (grades 7-8-9); (4) performance maturation and skills improvement in the adolescent years (ages 12-13-14) to prepare for the young adult years (ages 15-16-17 and grades 10-11-12).

It is readily apparent from the statistics that too many children and youth fail to make their way with any degree of success from pre-school to adulthood. The inability of the educational system as now constituted to make sure that nearly 100 per cent of children "make it" may be traced mainly -- perhaps exclusively -- to two factors: Progress monitoring approaches have been inadequate, and we have been unable (or unwilling) to make basic changes in educational delivery systems.

The Michigan Assessment of Educational Progress (MEAP) is, of course, a first step toward rectifying the first shortcoming -- that of inadequate monitoring of the student's progress. MEAP can provide the statewide foundation for effective local monitoring of progress, and the sort of "checkpoints" that will help local educators decide when and how they must revise their educational approach.

Willingness and cooperation among all those involved in education is the major need at all times, and more so in an era of assured major change. There must be change, there will be change, in the basics of our educational system.

III

PREPARING CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Having devised a strategy for improving elementary and secondary services to children and youth, and recognizing that there will be change in our educational delivery systems, the remaining step is application of theory to the "real world."

The model for building accountability into the educational system has six steps; application of this model, in the context of the "growth continuum," also -- naturally -- has six steps and may be accomplished with reference to a single individual or to groups of like individuals. In this presentation, let us begin with an example showing application of the accountability model to the task of preparing children for adolescence. (panel 4)

STEP I: The State Board of Education has articulated certain goals for children. These are spelled out in general terms in the "Common Goals of Michigan Education." Each local district is asked to develop their own modification of these goals.

STEP II: There are, by common consensus and by definition, certain things it is assumed children ought to know at various stages in their development. This information must now be translated into performance measures. While much work remains to be done, the performance objectives fall naturally into skill areas and attitude-aspiration areas which are, psychologically speaking, in the cognitive domain, the psycho-motor domain or the affective domain.

STEP III: Having identified the goals for children, and having articulated the performance objectives for schools, it is necessary to assess the existing relationship between them. This analytical chore must utilize all the knowledge at hand: research, testing, resource distribution and personnel availability and a host of others. The objective is to give local school officials some notion of the variance between desirability of performance objectives and what the child or children can do (needs assessment).

STEP IV: Based on the needs assessment, plans must be made to change the delivery systems to reverse what has often been termed as the "push-out" or "leave behind" problem. Among the many things which may be used are performance contracting, compensatory education, promising practices from experimental and demonstration schools, year-around schooling, intensified pre-school education, improvement of nutrition through school meals, in-service training of teachers, and many others.

STEP V: If a change takes place in the delivery system, that change needs to be tested and evaluated. If valid, across the board in-service professional development programs should be fostered.

STEP VI: When a district or school has gone through these steps, they should feel obligated to share the results. Recommendations to the local district, and to the State Board of Education, complete what is essentially a circular pattern of service -- goals are served and/or modified on the basis of continuing attention to the success or lack of success in the educational delivery system, and the process starts over again.

When addressing the question of "preparing youth for adulthood," it is found essentially the same circular pattern of continuous progress. (panel 5)

STEP I: Goals for youth are articulated, principally, among other places in the "Common Goals of Education." Local modifications are developed.

STEP II: Skill or knowledge areas in the preparation of youth include such things as developing effective communications, understanding the political and economic systems, acquaintance with the natural sciences, preparing for work or continuing education, development of health and nutrition understanding, and development of aesthetic appreciations. Specific performance measures must be developed.

STEP III: The youth-school needs assessment, like the child-school needs assessment, is an analytical chore and utilizes statewide, local, professional, parental, psychological and a host of other "tools." The objective is to identify disparities between desired and actual outcomes.

STEP IV: New delivery system plans for youth include, besides the school-oriented innovations such as performance contracting, etc., a heavy emphasis on new thrusts in career education, including alternative occupational scheduling, student financial assistance, coordination of career education approaches, better utilization of career education facilities, and neighborhood education facilities.

STEP V: In-service professional development and evaluation of effort in preparing youth for adulthood may require a greater emphasis on willingness to accept change than this step in the preparation of children for adolescence, since performance area objectives and new delivery system plans for youth by their nature are likely to involve far more radical departures from the "traditional" approaches.

STEP VI: Recommendations for change which may come to (or originate with) local districts and the State Board of Education are tested against goals for youth, and the cycle continues.

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IV

SUMMARY

This discussion has aimed at relating organizational aims and operational objectives to the total educational picture in Michigan. The organizational aims and operational objectives which have been outlined constitute the approach of the Department of Education as it seeks to perform its function as the executive arm of the State Board of Education; as a leader for local and intermediate school districts; as a resource for public officials and other branches of government, and as a service agency for the citizens of Michigan. It is anticipated that a later paper will deal with specific objectives of Department of Education units, and delineate to a greater degree the concerns of various units of the educational community in seeking to address the organizational aims and operational objectives here discussed. Likewise, a similar document is being prepared to focus on the educational services necessary to meet the needs of Michigan adults.

Panel 1

APPENDIX

**MICHIGAN
STATE BOARD
OF EDUCATION**

**State approach to improved
elementary and secondary services
to children and youth**

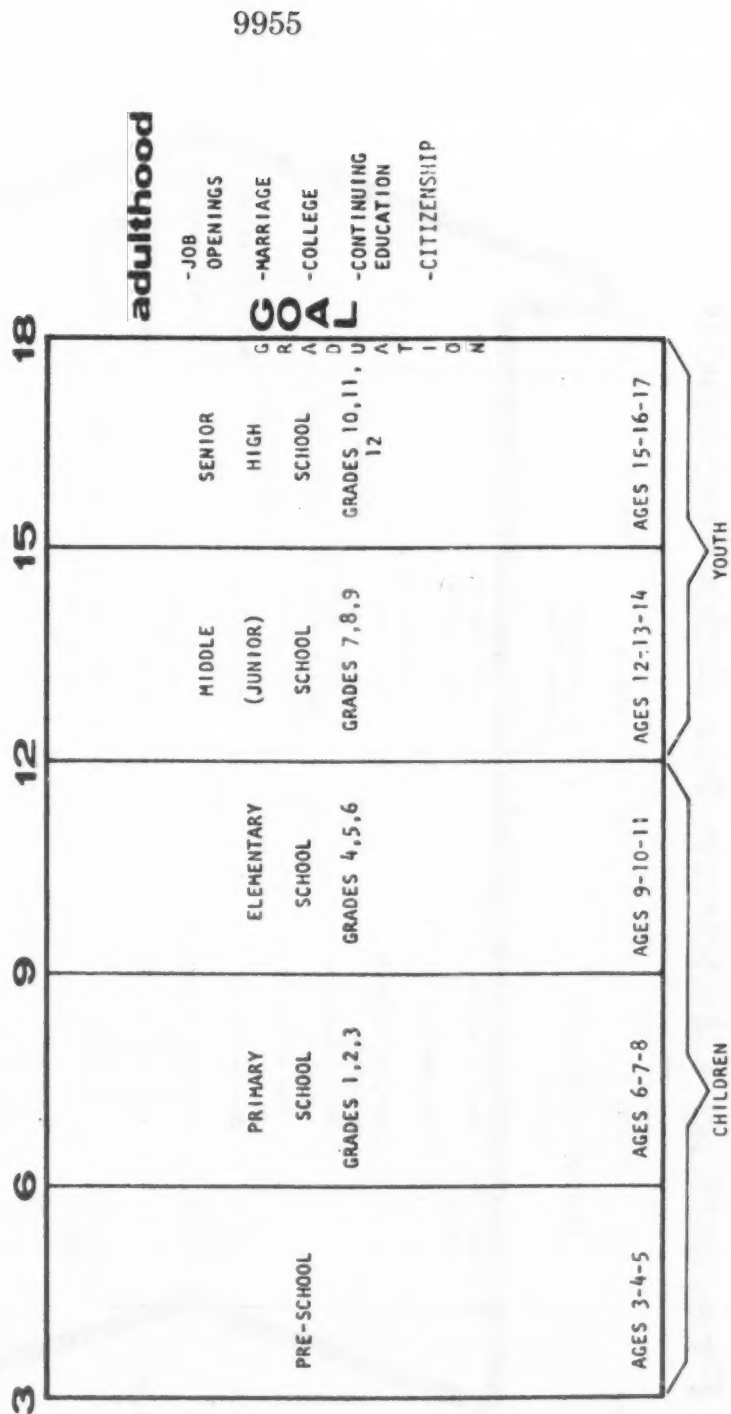
i

BUILDING ACCOUNTABILITY INTO THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

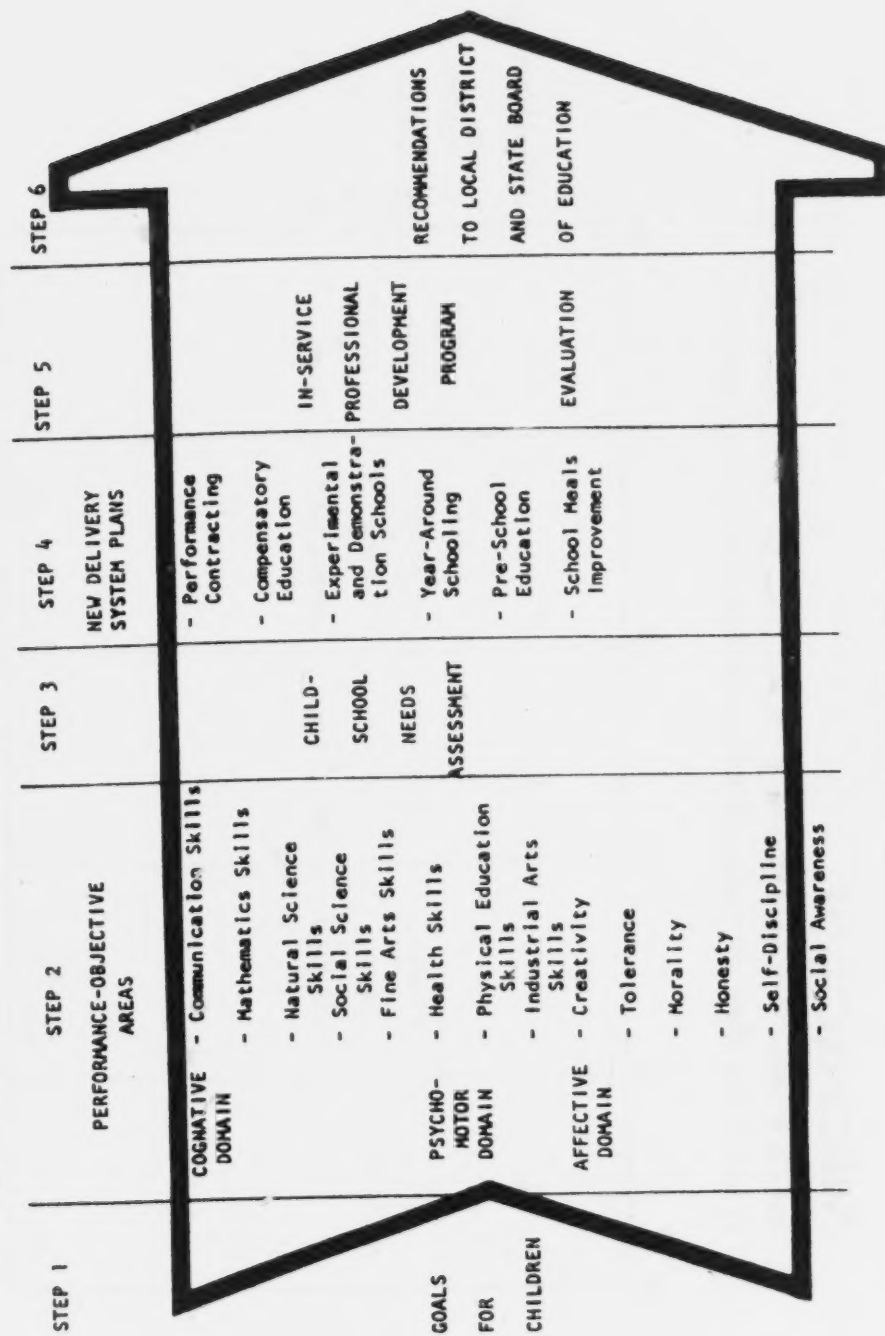
- I Common Goals**
- II Performance Objectives**
- III Needs Assessment**
- IV Delivery Systems Analysis**
- V Evaluation & Testing**
- VI Recommendations for Improvement**

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**MICHIGAN
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION**
meeting the needs of all children and youth



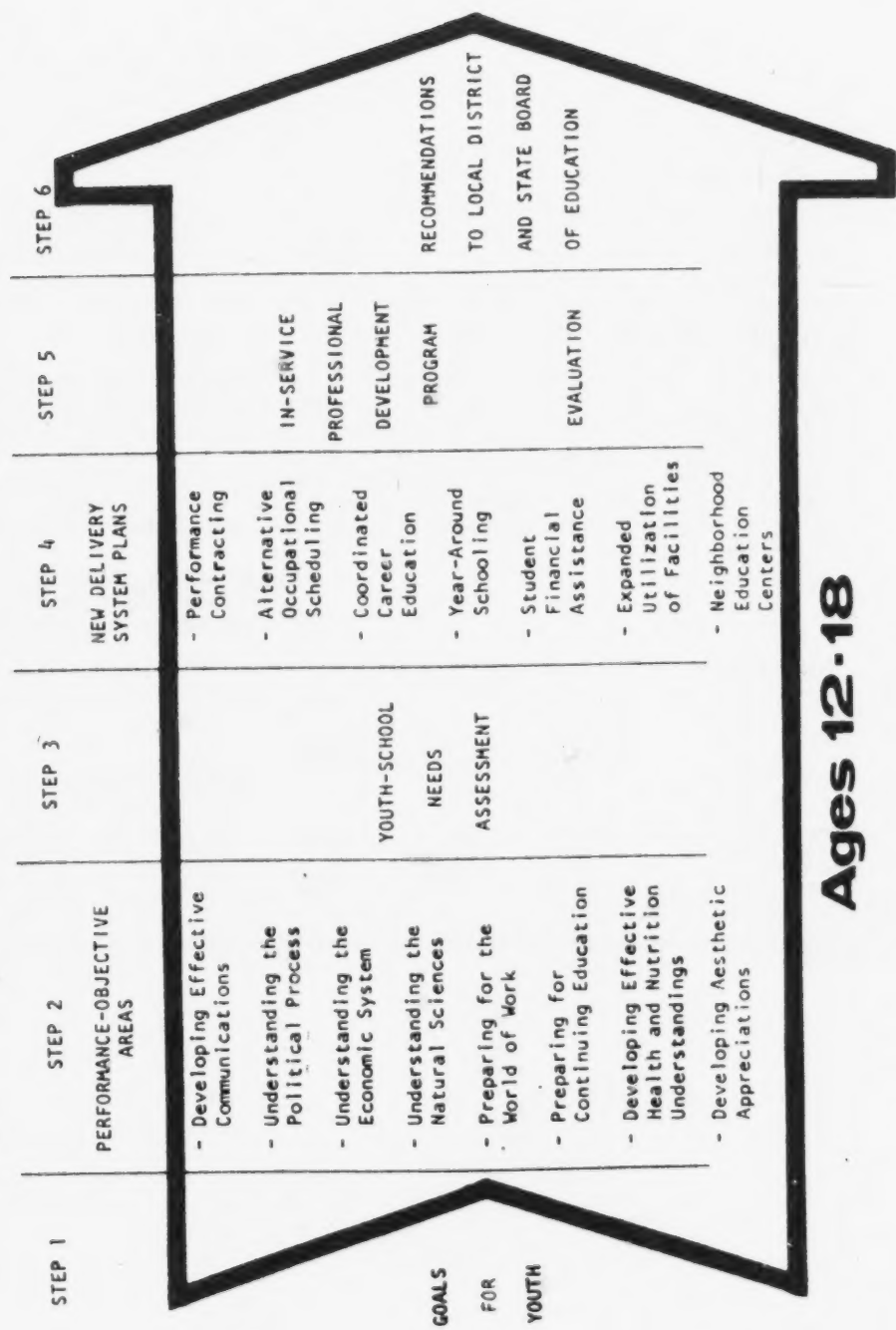
Preparing Children for Adolescence



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Ages 3-12

Preparing Youth for Adulthood



Ages 12-18

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FROM ROBERT McKERR

STATE OF MICHIGAN, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,
Lansing, Mich., November 4, 1971.

Mr. WILLIAM C. SMITH,
Staff Director and General Counsel, U.S. Senate, Select Committee on Equal
Educational Opportunity, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SMITH: On October 26, 1971, I was asked to provide information on
a per pupil expenditure basis for three or four inner-city schools in Detroit.

Attached is such information for four Detroit inner-city schools. Please note
that I have not been able to provide you with the net operating expenditure per
pupil for these schools but instead have provided the elementary instructional
expenditure per pupil. The Detroit district-wide expenditure per pupil for
1969-70 was \$434.88 and the state-wide figure was \$454.60.

As you will recall, before the committee I used a statewide current operating
expenditure per pupil of \$726.00. The elementary instructional figure does not
include expenditures such as special education, summer school, adult education,
transportation, operation of plant and maintenance of plant. The only figures
we have available on an individual school basis is an instructional expenditure
per pupil and it is for this reason that I have had to use this figure.

If you have questions concerning the attachment, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT N. McKERR,
Associate Superintendent,
Bureau of Administrative Services.

SELECT DETROIT TITLE I AND SEC. 3 SCHOOLS, PER PUPIL EXPENDITURES (ELEMENTARY) 1969-70

Building	Elementary instruction expense all other	Federal programs title I	Sec. 3 State School Aid Act	Total expenditure	Membership	Per pupil total ¹
Palmer School.....	\$180,937	\$68,576	\$80,041	\$329,554	519	\$635
Jones and annex.....	446,137	159,594	66,787	672,518	1,352	498
Potter School.....	83,322	19,582	19,837	122,741	229	536
Williams.....	368,640	62,993	273,067	704,700	922	764

¹ Detroit's per pupil citywide average for elementary instruction was \$434.88 in 1969-70 and the statewide average was \$454.60.

Appendix 2

ITEMS PERTINENT TO THE HEARING OF SEPTEMBER 29, 1971

Material Supplied by the Witness

FROM EDWARD B. FORT

OCTOBER 6, 1971.

Senator ROBERT P. GRIFFIN,
U.S. Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR GRIFFIN: If the local press can be considered an accurate indication of quotes—then I would assert that the recently issued statement wherein you indicated that forced bussing can become “counter productive for integration and equal opportunity in education”—is a lie. You know full well that this statement was nothing more than gamesmanship in the political arena, and I challenge you to prove the *validity* of that statement. The presently existing system under which public school children—regardless of race, exist in this country, is horrendously unfair. As a matter of fact, it does nothing more than to perpetuate the continuation of the disequalization of educational opportunity—and I can prove it. I challenge you to statistically refute this contention. The California Supreme Court, in the case of *Serrano vs Priest* indicated that “the quality of education for school aged children—is a function of the wealth of the children’s parents and neighbors as measured by the tax base of the school district in which said children reside. And, the quality of education for school aged children becomes a function of the geographical accident of the school district in which said children reside, and the present schemes for financing public school districts in these states provide students living in some school districts of this state with materially related advantages over students in other school districts in selecting and pursuing their educational goals.

Let me illustrate, very briefly, what I mean by this. Inkster Public Schools, for example, has the lowest state equalized assessed valuation—\$8,137.00—of any school district in Wayne County. It is noted, as per the figure cited on the accompanying chart, that the SEV range is from that bottom figure to a top figure of \$60,235.55, for the School District of River Rouge—which sits astride the steel mills which makes the Ford Empire possible. Further analysis of the data reveals the fact that Inkster’s expenditures per pupil are the second lowest in the group of districts cited; the Muskegon Heights School District, which, parenthetically, is the other predominately Black district in the Michigan group cited herein, has the lowest. Annual expenditures per pupil range from a low of \$712.00 (Inkster has \$715.00) to a high of \$1,595.19, for the School District of Dearborn. The most glaring discrepancies appear when one compares the results of operating millage in Inkster with those which exist in the City District of Dearborn. Both districts have an operating millage of 25.9 mills. However, for Inkster, one millage of levy (i.e., one dollar per thousand dollars in assessed valuation) yields only \$40,689.00. Conversely, every mill which is levied for operating in the District of Dearborn, nets a return of \$903,519.00. Speaking statistically, it thus becomes evident that one mill in Inkster raises only 4½% of the funds raised by that same millage levy in Dearborn; or another way of putting it—Dearborn is

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able to secure 95½% return on one mill of investment, as compared with only 4½% return for Inkster.

For purposes of further comparison, I would call your attention to the fact that the City of East Lansing, Michigan, has an SEV of \$26,973.00 per child, with expenditures annually, being \$1,140.00 per pupil. It is noted that the enrollment of the East Lansing School District approximates that of Inkster (5,000 pupils). Conversely, the similarities do not persist, as pertains to dollars yield per millage of levy. In East Lansing, one mill yields \$134,867.00. In Inkster, one mill yields \$40,689.00. As a means of "putting the nail in the coffin," I would call your attention to the quality education discrepancies, from an equipment and building and site point of view, that exist between Inkster and Dearborn.

INKSTER

1. One basic textbook, per child, at all levels of instruction, K-12.
2. Science laboratories for biology, physics, and chemistry—available *only* at the high school level.
3. A library at the one high school has less than 2500 volumes.
4. The District is expending only \$715.00 per child, annually.
5. Most buildings, in Inkster, are more than 15 years old.

DEARBORN

1. Availability of multiple texts, per child, at all levels of instruction, K-12.
2. Science laboratories are available at the junior-senior, and the elementary school levels. There are junior high school laboratory facilities in Dearborn that surpass the equipment standards currently available at the University of Michigan, in Ann Arbor.
3. No high school library has fewer than 3500 volumes.
4. Dearborn expends a total of \$1,595.19 per child, annually.
5. Most buildings in Dearborn are less than 15 years old.

Therefore, how, in the name of sanity, can you assert, publicly, that bussing for purposes of achieving racial integration would be "counter-productive." This statement is without validity. I think that what we really have to keep in mind is the fact that, as indicated by Rev. Jesse Jackson, Director of Operation Breadbasket, the *real issue* is not one of separatism, on the one hand, versus integration, on the other. One must not be inclined to believe that the Black child, merely by virtue of sitting next to the white child, is going to—through some mystic process of osmosis, learn better. This isn't the case at all. The fact of the matter is, historically, capital has always followed the *white* child. The white parent is not going to allow his child to be miseducated. Therefore, the Black child who is sitting next to that white child, has a pretty good chance of being guaranteed some semblance of quality education. This is not the case in the ghetto, which is predominately Black and/or Chicano. Therefore, I think that *you*, as a public official, one year before the 1972 election, can do no less than take an avowed position of support for the thesis which has been promulgated as a part of the California Supreme Court decision. Secondly, you have a humanitarian responsibility for disavowing statements which smack of institutionalized racism. Current separation of the races is nothing more than a perpetuation of the disequalization of educational opportunity—as I asserted above. For one to assert that bussing is counter-productive is sheer nonsense. As a matter of fact, in the recent landmark decision in the case of *Swan vs Charlotte Mecklenburg*, it was ruled that school districts *must* take whatever action is necessary for purposes of eliminating de facto segregation in the public schools, in Charlotte, North Carolina. The court also indicated the fact that as far as the question of bus transportation was concerned . . . "bus transportation has been an integral part of the public school system for years, and was perhaps the single most important factor in the transition from the one room schoolhouse to the consolidated school. Eighteen million of the nation's public school children, approximately 39%, were transported to their schools by bus in 1969-70—in all parts of the country. The importance of bus transportation as a normal and accepted tool of educational policy is readily discernible in this and the companion case. *In these circumstances, we find no basis for holding that the local school authorities may not be required to employ bus transportation as one tool of school desegregation. Desegregation plans cannot be limited to the walk-in school.*

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Therefore, President Nixon, to the contrary notwithstanding, *Swan-Mecklenburg* resolves and settles, once and for all, the issue of the legitimacy of bus transportation as a viable means of achieving school district desegregation.

I would, therefore, assert, in conclusion, that it is *your* responsibility to *admit* publicly, the error of your ways, as they pertain to your earlier referred to statements. You can rest assured of the fact that if your posture remains the same that it will be my purpose, as the school superintendent, to actively campaign for your defeat in the 1972 elections. I can see no way whereby you can rationalize the statements that you have made, for obvious politically expedient reasons.

Sincerely,

EDWARD B. FORT,
Superintendent of Schools.

School district	Total SEV	SEV per pupil	Expenditures per pupil	Total enrollment	Operating millage	Amonnt raised by 1 mill
River Rouge.....	222,365,629	60,235.55	1,284.93	3,675	20.90	222,366
Grosse Pointe.....	436,392,046	29,624.00	1,108.58	13,347	28.60	436,392
Dearborn.....	903,519,357	39,819.00	1,595.19	20,610	25.90	903,519
Warren Consolidated.....	660,637,000	19,355.00	855.00	34,132	26.58	660,637
Oak Park.....	204,097,021	36,834.00	1,248.83	5,853	31.63	204,094
Muskegon Heights.....	51,365,150	12,527.00	712.00	4,100	27.80	51,365
East Lansing.....	134,867,086	26,973.00	1,140.00	5,000	34.50	134,867
Okemos.....	64,994,380	19,587.00	994.00	3,400	35.70	64,994
Cherry Hill.....	49,293,800	9,358.00	644.46	4,869	24.90	49,294
Wayne.....	308,356,693	11,730.00	892.02	23,604	37.90	308,357
Westwood.....	78,149,782	13,650.00	806.76	5,121	34.95	78,150
Taylor.....	245,220,784	9,609.00	769.00	20,093	¹ 30.90	245,221
Inkster.....	40,688,771	8,137.00	715.82	4,387	² 31.90	40,689

¹ Brownstown portion.

² Entire portion of Taylor plus portions of Dearborn Heights, Westland, and Inkster.

Appendix 3

ITEMS PERTINENT TO THE HEARING OF OCTOBER 1, 1971

Material Supplied by the Witness

FROM NORMAN DRACHLER

November 12, 1971.

HON. WALTER F. MONDALE,
*Chairman, Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, Old
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR: You have asked that I express my thoughts concerning financing schools in large cities. A great deal has been presented before your distinguished Committee concerning the needs of educational financing. I do not want to repeat what has been said before. I therefore wish to present my remarks from two viewpoints. One, my experience in Detroit and two, a general recommendation which applies to the financial needs of education in general.

1. *Detroit's Financial Plight.*—Detroit is a fiscally independent school district. Therefore, as its financial needs grow it must turn to the voters for additional funding. This method of financing schools is unrealistic in a large city where there are contrasting sets of values in the community and where the tax burden on the city is already very large.

Since instruction generally consumes over 80 percent of the school dollar, the situation in large cities is unusually grave. In the large city there generally is a higher percentage of teachers who remain on the school staff and achieve the maximum salary. In smaller communities there is a greater turnover. In 1969/70 over 40 percent of the Detroit school staff was at the maximum salary. More than 60 percent is at the fifth salary step or higher, thus, during that year the average teacher salary for Detroit was \$11,118, while the average for all of Michigan was \$10,058. The large city simply must compete with suburban communities for staff. On the other hand, the number of professionals per 1,000 pupils in Detroit was 42. Detroit ranked 36 among 49 metropolitan districts surrounding the area in regard to professional staff.

I have already mentioned in my testimony the loss in revenue to the city because of a constantly decreasing tax value behind each youngster. A mill in 1969/70 brought in about \$700,000 less than it did in 1960. Between 1960 and 1970 there was accumulative revenue loss of over ninety-one million dollars due to the annual reductions in the state equalized valuation.

Detroit's total tax rate of 57.60 mills is one of the highest in the state, with an additional 2 percent income tax for city government. A 2 percent income tax is equivalent to a 14 mill property tax levy for schools. The school operating tax rate of 20.76 is slightly lower than the state average school tax levy, which was 24.7 in 1969/70. Millage in itself is not an adequate index since in Detroit there is approximately \$17,000 state equalized valuation behind each youngster while other communities range from \$5,000 to \$40,000 per youngster. Even on the state aid formula, Detroit did not receive adequate help. In 1969 the City of Detroit received \$304.13 per pupil in basic state aid while all districts including Detroit averaged \$312.01. During that same year 1969/70, Detroit ranked 85th in the state in terms of current operating expenditures. Detroit was spending \$756.02 as compared with Oak Park which spent \$1,275.54 and Dearborn which spent \$1,148.23. The result is that communities that have most serious needs for

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additional services in the schools often have the least opportunity to obtain these services.

2. *The Partnership Has Failed.*—For over 100 years we have had a grand plan that local and state partnerships would adequately finance American education. This plan has never served this goal adequately. As long as women teachers were underpaid and school dropouts went unnoticed—the school financial crisis did not become a national issue. Collective bargaining, inflation, and greater school retention forced the crisis upon us.

I conclude, therefore, somewhat regretfully, that the federal government must assume an overall responsibility for public education. It is the only body that can tap our nation's human and financial resources and is capable of assessing and performing the task ahead. We simply do not have the time for 50 states to struggle with common challenge independently.

I am not worried about federal control. We are a pragmatic people and with the transition of responsibility we can develop guidelines and processes which will result in much greater local influence than we have had in the past. I think it's fair to state that federal aid has resulted in much more local participation, insofar as education is concerned, than local control offered in the past. Students of America stress that we have demonstrated in our nation's history a talent for preserving ideological principles while devising pragmatic means to adjust to new conditions. We can do so again. Real partnerships can only be achieved when states approach one another as equals in quest of a common cause—and this can be gained only through equal educational opportunity.

We must regard ourselves as one nation instead of 50 states. A nation with a great deal of mobility and where state boundaries cannot quarantine ignorance. We must become a nation that accepts the thesis that no metropolitan area can survive or prosper—if the central city, the heartbeat of the metropolitan community, is permitted to deteriorate or decay. A nation, to paraphrase a noted scholar, may be likened to a tree, whose roots are planted in our federal constitution, and whose branches spread over the 50 states. A tree cannot flourish without roots. Yet, how can it bear fruit without branches? Let us be careful with our branches!

Sincerely,

NORMAN DRACHLER.

Articles of Interest

(The Detroit Free Press, Sept. 16, 1971)

INNER-CITY SCHOOL PROJECT A SUCCESS

ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS UP SHARPLY

By William Grant

Student achievement levels have risen sharply in four east side Detroit elementary schools which in 1968 received the largest grant ever awarded by the U.S. Office of Education.

The four-school Neighborhood Education Center was given a three-year \$6 million grant in the dark days following the 1967 Detroit riot, when both the federal government and local school officials were desperately seeking some project that would demonstrate student achievement levels could be raised in even the most blighted inner city neighborhoods.

The schools—Bell, Berry, Field and Field Annex—are in the Butzel Junior High School area on Detroit's lower east side. Last year they enrolled 2,000 students, of whom only 87 were white. Almost all are from poor families.

So poor was the area, in fact, that many tried to convince Detroit school officials to spend the federal money elsewhere, for fear that any project begun in that neighborhood was doomed to failure.

But the project won approval and it now boasts the following achievements:

The downward spiral of student achievement common in poverty areas, where students start school behind and fall further and further behind the longer they stay in school, has been stopped.

Students who finished the first grade last spring averaged only one month behind the national norm in achievement, compared to a five-month lag experienced by first grade students in the same schools before the project started.

Students who were in the third grade when the program started in 1968 finished the sixth grade last spring still five months behind the national norm in word meaning. But those students scored one year and three months ahead of similar students who completed the sixth grade in the same schools before the special program.

The project is being hailed by educators in Detroit and elsewhere as one of the significant breakthroughs in the national effort to find a way schools can offset the deprivations suffered by children in poverty neighborhoods.

"We have developed a system by which inner-city children can be taught successfully," says Carnie Greene, director of the project for the past year.

Various federal cutbacks over the years reduced the actual grant to \$4.7 million. That means the project is costing about \$1,200 a year for each of the students in the project. That is only slightly more than is spent on education in the Grosse Pointe school system, and less than is spent in Dearborn and Oak Park.

Detroit presently spends about \$600 a year per student.

"It doesn't take all that much money to provide a quality education in the inner city," says Louis D. Monacel, Detroit's assistant superintendent for special programs. "But it does take more than we have available to spend locally."

Before the 1967 riot, the Detroit school system had been seeking some of the federal money available for innovative programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. But that application was pigeonholed in Washington.

After the riot, school officials started a concerted lobbying effort, arguing that with enough money even the faltering schools in the nation's most riot-torn city could be turned around. John Gardner, then the secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and other federal officials were impressed. So the unprecedented \$6 million was awarded.

(9965)

What the federal money bought was 61 additional teachers for the four schools, so that there could be four teachers for each cluster of 66 students.

Teachers themselves developed over 700 specific goals they wanted students to achieve in language and math. The progress of each child toward the goals was measured in a highly scientific fashion so that a teacher could at any time see what skills a student had achieved and what was needed to advance him to the next step.

Although the federal grant expired at the end of the past year, the project is being continued through this year as part of the Board of Education's contract with the Detroit Federation of Teachers. The school system is putting up the \$1.4 million cost from local money.

It is unlikely the program will be continued much past this year, however, unless other outside funds are found. The board is expected a \$31 million deficit at the end of the current school year and is not expected to continue spending heavily on four schools while cutbacks are made in hundreds of others.

Appendix 4

ITEMS PERTINENT TO THE HEARING OF NOVEMBER 3, 1971

Material Submitted by the Witnesses

FROM WILLIAM MEAD

[The Lake County Star, Baldwin, Mich., Oct. 21, 1971]

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas, The schools represent the best efforts of the community, the state, and the nation to improve the quality of life for each individual and for all mankind; and

Whereas, Each citizen, in order to contribute to such efforts, must have an opportunity to learn about and understand the progress, problems, and potential of the schools; and

Whereas, The public schools constantly strive to bridge the gaps that threaten the unity and strength of the nation, by promoting—

Understanding of the diverse ideas that lend vigor to our pluralistic society;

Realization for each person of his unique worth and capabilities;

Opportunities for the development of each student's talents and character to enable him to determine his goals and to find fulfillment in reaching them;

The preservation, as a paramount priority, of an environment that enriches the life of every human being and that supports the individual in his quest for satisfaction in worthy endeavors;

Now Therefore, I, Raymond Meinke, Village President, of Baldwin, Michigan, do hereby designate October 24-30, 1971, to be American Education Week and do urge all citizens to reaffirm their commitment to examine our schools and assist them in bridging the gap between what is and what can be in the process of providing the best possible education for all.

ABOUT OUR SCHOOLS

Schools have become great machines, sorting and labeling those who presumably will be winners or losers as adults. Overwhelmingly, the winners are white and affluent; the losers, too often, are poor, and brown or black or red.

Noting this major problem local citizens may help schools bridge the gap between the "winners" and "losers" by visiting Baldwin Community Schools and taking part in an American Education Week activity on October 26, 1971 at 8:00 p.m. in the Baldwin High School all-purpose room—a program sponsored by the Office of the Advisory Specialist.

The right to learn, it has been noted, includes the right to know what is to be learned and the right to learn the ways of knowing. But that basic right has been denied to many due to prejudices and an often mindless adherence to unproductive educational concepts and practices.

In the latter situation, even so-called winners can become losers.

(9967)

Scoring the denial of diversity, which is said to be the cause of many of the problems in the schools today, Mr. Mead points out that, "We cannot educate our children by demanding they subjugate their wills so we may improve their minds."

Instead, he noted, the educational process should offer a child the whole world as a classroom without limitations on age or time.

The gap between promises and performance must be eliminated.

"Rather than search for better values," contends Mr. Mead, "we should concentrate on being faithful to those we already have, and just talking about our values instead of applying them to practical programs is meaningless."

On October 26, 1971, at 8:00 p.m. in the Baldwin High School's all-purpose room local citizens will have an opportunity to show their desire to "bridge the gap" by attending a community night program. The speaker for the evening will be Dr. Dave Goodlow, professor at the University of Minnesota. Part of the program is reserved for a question and answer session. Coffee will be served at the conclusion of the program.

WHAT AN EDUCATION MEANS TO ME

By Johann Batcheleter

An education means a lot to me because I know I need it, and I know in the long run it will help me. Also an education means a job, friends, and a happy life.

All people should understand how bad they need an education. It would mean so much to them. Then they would forget about another person or how much they hate a teacher; then they can get everything they can out of it.

(By Tana Griffin)

To me an education is when I go to school for my first twelve years and learn all that I can. Going to school also prepares me for the future.

But I think I got more out of education besides reading, writing, and arithmetic. Here at this school I have learned to get along with both Blacks and Whites. If I went to an all White school I wouldn't know how to live with Black people. Also I would probably believe every word that a White person would say about a Black person. So I am glad I go to this school no matter how much I dislike it. It has taught me to live with my fellow man.

(By Rourl C. Thomas)

Because I am black, I will need much more to qualify me for a higher position in life. Education means a lot more to me than to most whites. Education is educating oneself. This is achieved by learning how to cope with one another, how to overcome different situations, and preparing oneself for the white world about him.

(By Pearlle Hudson)

An education means more opportunities, more qualifications, and more freedom. It will help prepare me for the future. Education also develops the kind of principles to know right and wrong. It develops the power of reasoning. It requires discipline, such as will power on my part to learn the rules and regulations that have been put down for me to follow. This my purpose of going to school and trying to get what there is to get.

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Appendix 5

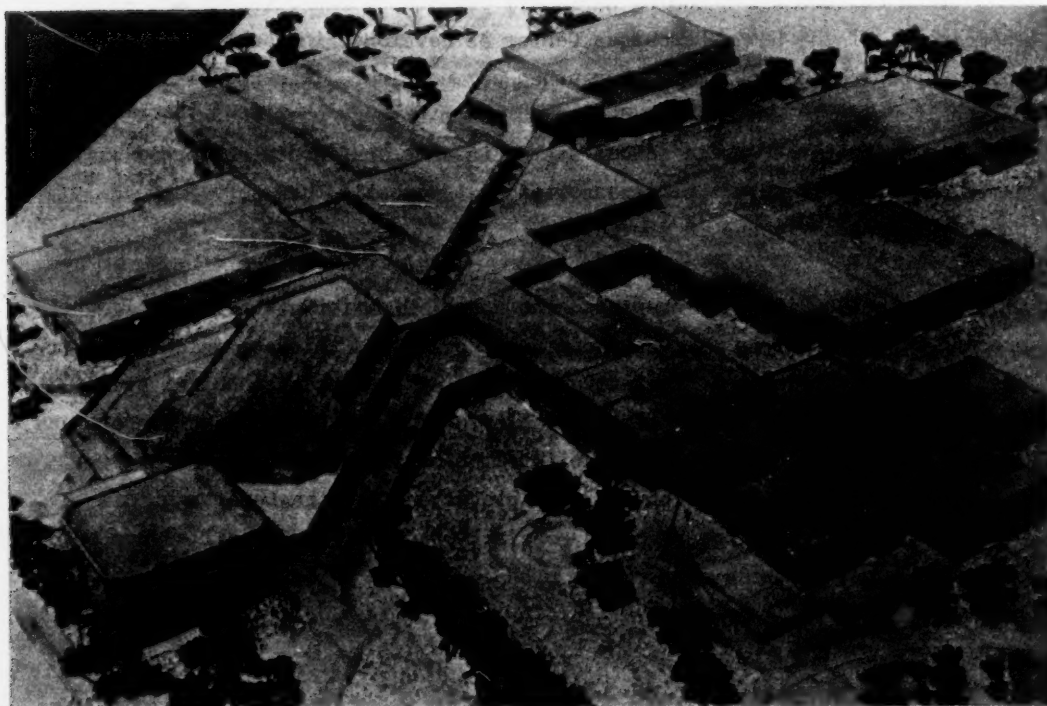
ITEMS PERTINENT TO THE HEARING OF
NOVEMBER 4, 1971

Material Submitted by the Witnesses

FROM DR. DANA WHITMER

HUMAN RESOURCES CENTER

Pontiac , Michigan



Providing for people . . .

THE HUMAN RESOURCES CENTER: AN INNOVATION IN EDUCATION

"If we can bring white and black parents and their children together in one setting with fully enriched educational, social, and recreational programs, there should be a potential environment to improve the total living of residents in that quadrant of the inner city."

"Human beings have an almost unlimited potential for growth, for learning, and for self-improvement throughout most of their lives. It is to assist in this life-long development of human talent and human potential that the Human Resources Center concept was born."

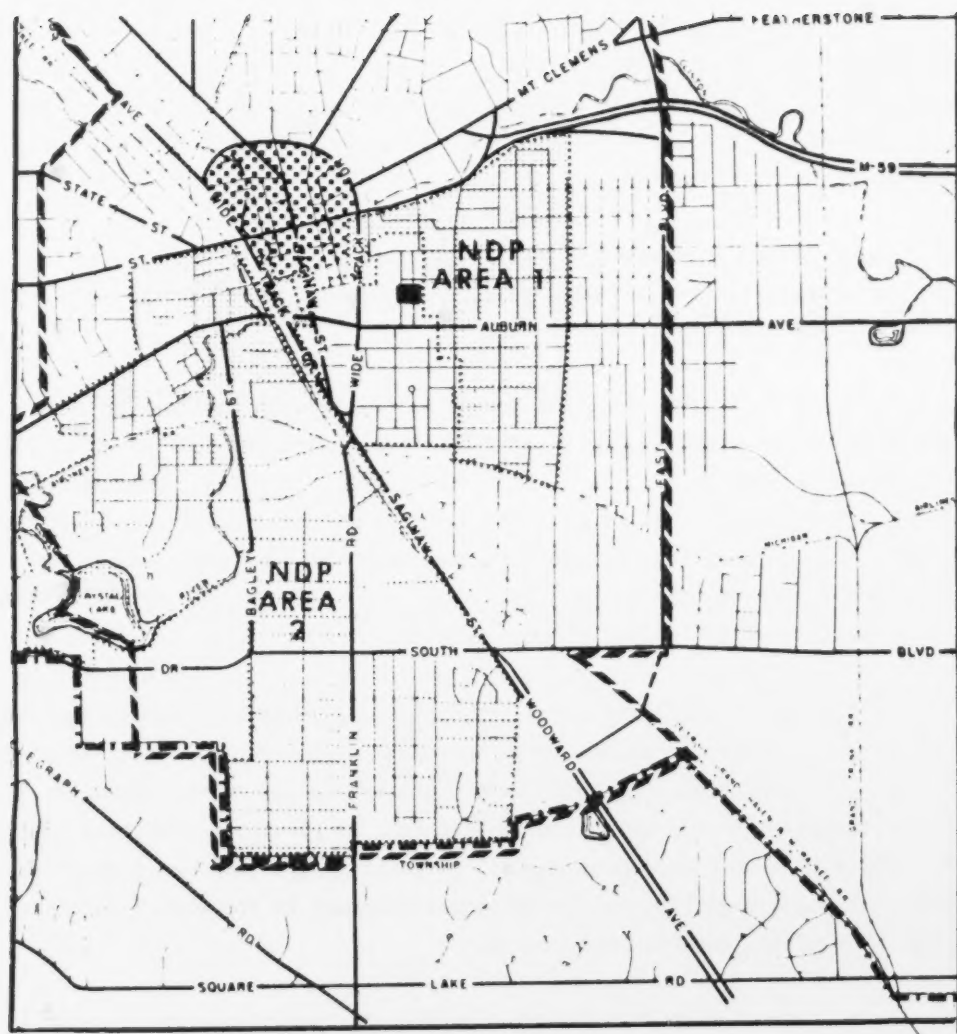
Dr. Dana P. Whitmer, Superintendent
School District of the City of
Pontiac, Michigan

Providing for Human Potential

The Human Resources Center is an educational institution designed to help people develop their talents and human potential throughout their lives. Services and programs in the Center will be carried on for children in their pre-school years, children in their elementary school years, out-of-school youth, and adults throughout their lifetimes.

Urban centers are becoming seriously divided by race, income and class. The concept of the Human Resources Center as developed in Pontiac offers a unique approach to problems of our urban communities. This new kind of educational center is intended to deal with needs through comprehensive planning. Recognizing that the public school system is only one agency concerned with human needs, it is nevertheless asserted that education can serve a much broader role than it has in the past.

The Pontiac City Government and the School District of the City of Pontiac are working together to stimulate community pride and interest which would assist in the development and maintenance of an attractive residential area. Plans include a concentrated educational effort on the part of the schools and service agencies, and physical rehabilitation of the area through the city government in conjunction with fundable projects under the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The Pontiac Area Planning Council supported the development of these cooperative plans.



LEGEND

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| MICHIGAN R 20 | MICHIGAN R 44 |
| --- CITY LIMITS | ▨ CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT |
| — EXISTING MAJOR THOROUGHFARES | ■ HUMAN RESOURCES CENTER |
| - - - PROPOSED MAJOR THOROUGHFARES | |
| ▨ TARGET AREAS IDENTIFIED BY THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY COMMITTEE | |

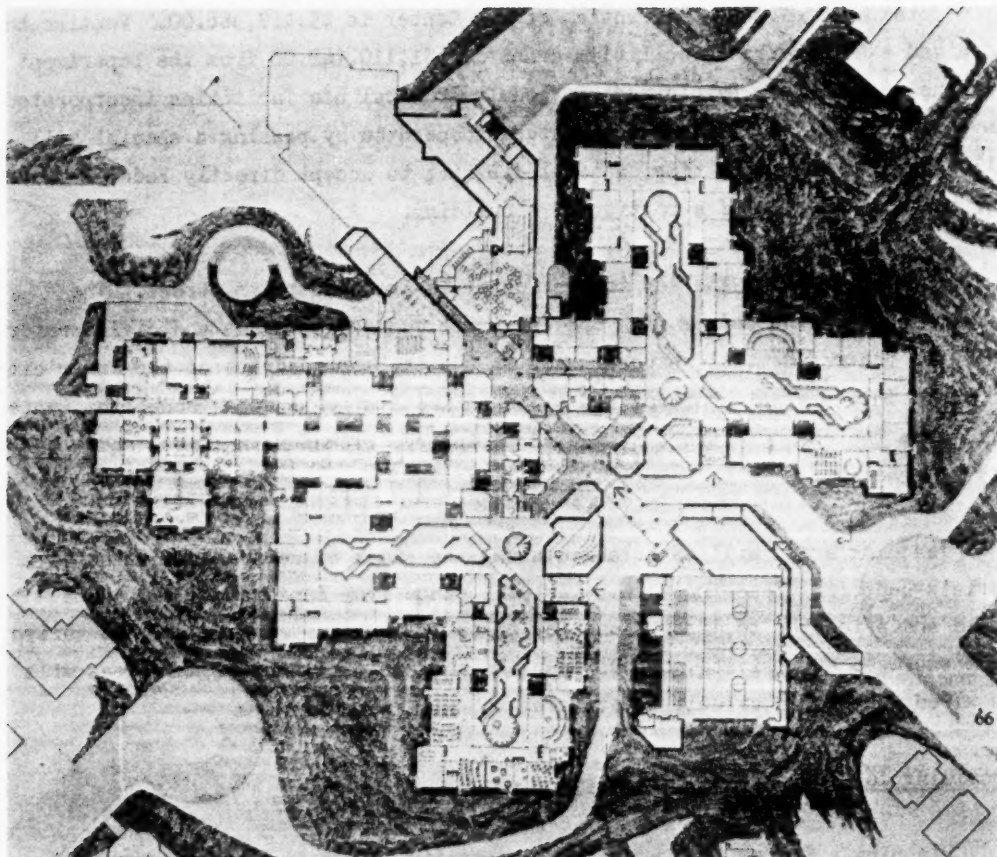
This cooperatively evolved Neighborhood Development Plan has been established for two areas. Area I is generally east of the Center and Area II is southwest of the business district of the city. The areas for redevelopment were selected on the basis of the number of structures that could be rehabilitated rather than cleared.

Urban Design Associates of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania were selected to do the demographic studies that led to site selection. They also provided the architectural services for the Center.

With the assistance of Urban Design Associates, an application for funds was prepared and submitted to Housing and Urban Development in March, 1970. This would provide money for rehabilitation, spot clearance, relocation services, street improvement, and adding to and improving existing recreation areas. The program, when funded, provides that the area plan must be at least 80% completed within one year. This schedule coincides almost exactly with completion plans for the Human Resources Center.

The Center is conceived of as achieving integration through usage, being based on the broadest possible range of community interests, needs and facilities. It is intended that this Center will eventually serve approximately 2,100 students from its immediate area as well as provide educational programs for many others on a city-wide basis. It will utilize advanced techniques of instruction and organization, permitting adaptation to the widest possible range of ability, interest and progress.

Objectives of this kind demand a radical reorganization of the school system's traditional approaches to its educational goals, curricula, teacher-aid technologies, and to school architecture. In addition to innovative educational excellence, the Center will offer cultural, auditorium and exhibition facilities to the City; in-service training programs for Pontiac's educators; adult education; community services in the areas of health, welfare, and family counselling; facilities for pre-school programs; and facilities for inter- and intra-community civic activities.



Providing for a "Child-City"

The Human Resources Center will occupy 14 acres near the business-center of the city. Ground was broken on February 1, 1970 and completion is scheduled for the Fall of 1971. A Citizen's Finance Committee promoted a successful operating millage and bond issue in 1968 which is providing funds for the greater portion of the building. This group was organized and acted on a city-wide basis to bring the message of school needs to the Pontiac community. At a time when school finance issues were being examined critically, this acceptance of millage showed the interest of the citizens of Pontiac in maintaining a quality educational program.

Total cost of the construction of the Center is \$5,417,386.00. Pontiac has received a Neighborhood Facilities grant for \$1,110,142.00 from the Department of Housing and Urban Development for adult and dual use facilities incorporated in the Center. The Michigan legislature cooperated by passing a special bill allowing, for the first time, a local district to accept directly Federal funds for the construction of a portion of a building.

Architecturally, the key to the Center is the pedestrian street. The street connects the Center with the city, its commercial areas and civic center, and with the residential neighborhoods in the eastern quadrant of the inner city. To blend into the neighborhood and avoid an institutional appearance, the Center will have uneven roof lines, staggered periphery, broken walk lanes, and a variety of spaces.

Teaching areas will be arranged along the sides of centrally-located materials centers. Teaching activities will range from conferences between a child and a teacher to discussions for up to 100 pupils. Spaces will be varied, some enclosed and private, others open and communal. Instructional areas will be wired for closed circuit television.

Providing for Full Use of Facilities

Planning a Center that emphasizes community education requires the inclusion of some special facilities particularly intended for community use and some dual use facilities. In the former category would be an adult community room with kitchen, an adult library, adult classrooms, health clinic, office area for Community School Directors and Liaison Workers, nursery room, pre-school room, and auxiliary offices.

Dual use is planned for areas such as arts and crafts room, woodworking and metals room, homemaking room, upper elementary classrooms, cafeteria, gymnasium, outdoor picnic-park area, and parking and traffic pick-up areas.

Interior areas will be air conditioned for summer use.

Providing for a Full-Range of Services

County and United Fund agencies who provide medical, dental, mental health, case worker, legal aid and child guidance services will be provided office space and will staff the facility at regularly scheduled times.

The Adult Education Department of the school district will offer free Basic Education and High School Credit Classes. College credit programs from Oakland Community College and Oakland University will be offered on a fee basis.

The City Parks and Recreation Department will offer a free recreation program to youth, and programs to adults on a fee basis. Such Pontiac City Services as the Youth Department, Human Relations Committee, Police Department, Library, and Health Department have been contacted and plan to participate. The local office of Economic Opportunity has endorsed the concept and will participate in many phases of the program to be offered to the community.

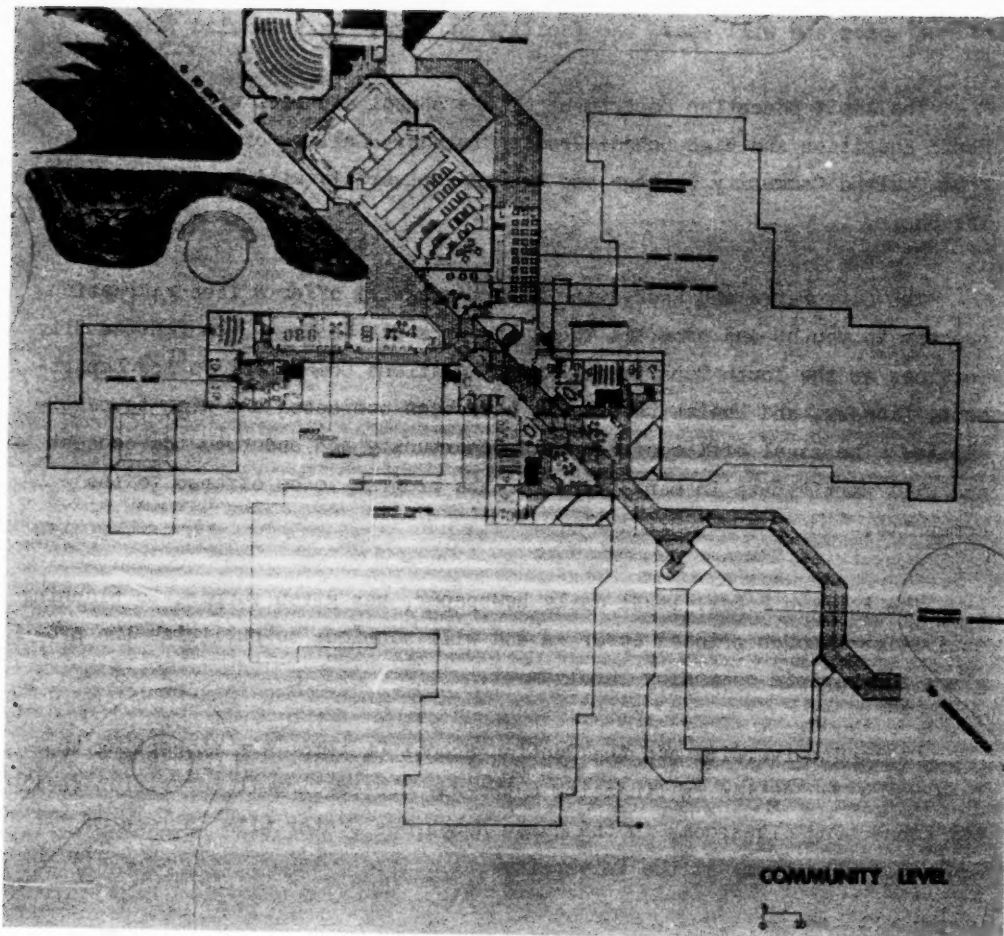
The Pontiac Press, local daily newspaper, has given support to planning activities through printed coverage and will continue to publicize the programs for maximum community involvement.

Oakland University and the Pontiac School District are attempting to interest a foundation in financing a two-way closed-circuit television facility connecting classrooms in the Human Resources Center with College of Education classrooms at the University.

Providing for Community Partnership

The idea of the Human Resources Center was presented to more than 30 city-wide groups including PTA's, service clubs, and professional organizations. Each group was asked for their reactions, suggestions and informal endorsement.

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Parents and other adults within the community have been requested to participate as working partners in the total program. Volunteers will be used as tutors, special activity supervisors, homeroom mothers, lecturers, PTA fund raisers, field trip chaperones, library helpers, and pre-school helpers. As funds become available, residents could be employed as clerical aides, technical aides, adult registrars, noon supervisors, playground supervisors, home contactors and after-school study supervisors.

A network of advisory groups will address themselves to activities or concerns of the school and/or community. These could include such things as recreational problems, street repair, social services, student behavior in the neighborhood, educational problems, and programming of afternoon and evening activities.

Providing Meaningful Educational Programs

Only general outlines of programs are available at this time. Details of curriculum will be developed by the members of the Human Resources Center staff and Advisory Groups.

Pre-school and Kindergarten - An important feature of the plan for these children is the assignment of teachers to work half days with kindergarten children and half days with three- and four-year-old children and with their parents. Half of the teachers will be scheduled to teach kindergarten in the morning and half of them will be scheduled to teach sections of kindergarten in the afternoon.

The kindergarten children will be taught in classrooms in the school. Pre-school children will be taught in groups in the community using volunteer assistance with some instruction provided in a classroom setting in the Human Resources Center. One-way observation glass will be used between the Parent Education Room and the Pre-kindergarten classroom. The program for three- and four-year-old children will place a strong emphasis on parent education directed toward assisting adults in developing learning readiness in children.

Upper and Lower Elementary Schools - The Lower Elementary School is being planned and equipped to accommodate six, seven- and eight-year-old children and the Upper Elementary School to provide for the nine, ten- and eleven-year-olds. Given children may require less than three years to complete their experiences in either one of these schools. Some girls and boys may require a longer period of time. The Lower Elementary School will enroll a few educationally superior five-year-old pupils. Also, it is anticipated that some educationally immature children who are twelve years of age will be continuing their studies in the Upper Elementary School.

Appropriate placement of pupils will receive considerable attention. A sequence of learning will be established for each academic area of the curriculum. All children entering the school from other established schools will be appropriately placed through the use of diagnostic tests, teacher observation and cumulative data. Placement will not be based upon reading achievement alone. Rather, a given child may find himself placed in one group for reading, another for math, etc. True individualization of instruction, based upon the pupil's successes rather than his failures, will be the keystone of the program.

Continuous individual progress will supplant graded promotion and retention. The month of June will no longer be a time when all children experience promotion. Teachers will promote individual children to the next levels of learning at any time during the year that the pupil demonstrates such readiness. We will eliminate the "lock-step" one-grade-per-year plan.

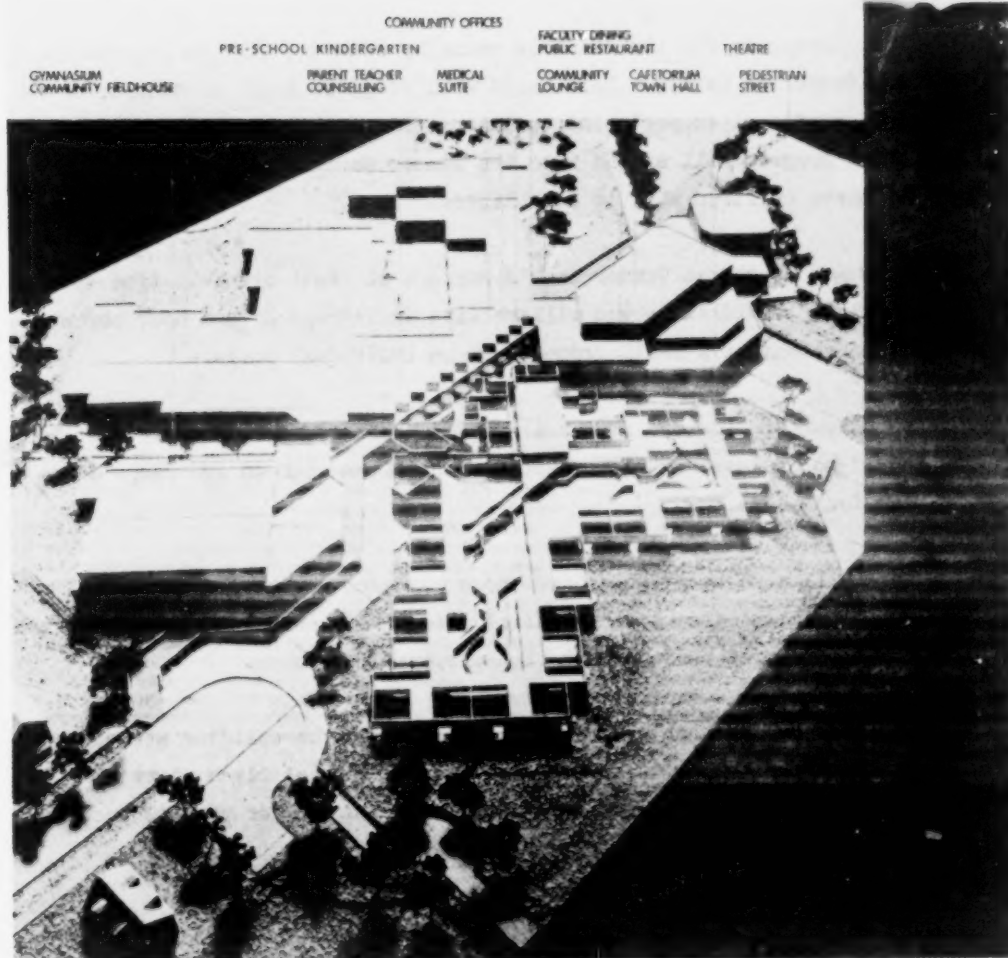
Providing Support for Personnel

The school guidance program is one of the pupil personnel services offered by the school system to assist the teachers and other staff members in helping boys and girls develop their greatest potential as individuals and as learners. One elementary counselor is recommended to meet the needs of the Lower Elementary School and one will be required for the Upper Elementary School.

The school social work program assists teachers and other school staff members in an understanding of pupils and gives help to those pupils who are not profiting from the school program. The school social worker is concerned with such pupils of all ages as are having difficulty in personal and social adjustment in school, home and/or community. It is anticipated that the active case load and total number of students will justify the assignment of one school social worker, serving half time in the Lower Elementary School and half time in the Upper Elementary School.

The school psychologist has major responsibility for the study of pupils referred as candidates for mentally handicapped programs. He also serves in a consultant capacity to the school staff. It is anticipated that a school psychologist would spend approximately one-half of his time in the Human Resources Center.

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The school health services are an integral part of the total education program, and as such health is considered in all its aspects - physical, mental, emotional and social. The school nurse is a health consultant and a resource person to students, parents and teachers in coordinating health projects and developing programs through health education. A full-time nurse is recommended for the Human Resources Center to divide her time equally between the Lower Elementary and the Upper Elementary Schools.

Providing for Exceptional Children

Four classrooms for the educable mentally retarded will be located in the Human Resources Center. Each child will be given the individualized instruction, emotional support, and social acceptance he needs to succeed. The educational program will extend into the summer months and a pre-school program for these children will be established.

The Human Resources Center should support at least one full-time speech correctionist. Children served will receive an average of one hour per week instruction either in a small group or on an individual basis.

Two classrooms for the emotional handicapped are recommended. The class load should not be more than ten certified children with an age range of no more than four years.

There will also be programs for those children who have a perceptual handicap. These children have normal or potentially normal intelligence, but are educationally retarded because of a perceptual problem.

The teacher-counselor program is designed to serve children who are not so severely physically handicapped as to require special class placement but need part-time special teaching and counseling in order for them to succeed in their regular classes.

Providing for Special Talents

The programs suggested here are examples of activities which will serve to offer sophisticated instruction to superior students and at the same time encourage pupils and parents from all areas of the school district to use and enjoy the facilities available at the Center:

Talented Young Artists Program
 Talented Young Musicians Program
 Gifted Young Mathematicians Program
 Gifted Young Scientists Program

It is planned that the regular Pontiac elementary summer school be conducted at the Human Resources Center.

After-school programs can include such student groups and organizations as Scouting, Campfire Girls, 4-H, Toastmaster's Club, Science Club, Toastmistress' Club, Safety Patrol, Service Squad, Student Council and Library Club.

Providing In-Service Activities for School District Staff

An information session for all elementary school personnel interested in the Human Resources Center is planned for the Fall of 1970, approximately one year before the Center is scheduled to open.

Pontiac classroom teachers will be encouraged to visit classrooms in the Human Resources Center. Center personnel may serve as resource people for staff meetings at various elementary schools in the district. Research and experimental information will be made available to teachers and administrators throughout the school system. Pontiac elementary school principals will be encouraged to visit the Center periodically to observe the various programs and assess for themselves the success and/or failures of the project. They will be encouraged to introduce into their own schools the programs and methods which they judge to be successful.

Teachers in Pontiac will be encouraged to bring children to the Center to share some educational experiences with Center children of the same age. This will expose children from various sections of the city to the fine facilities and programs of the Center. It should serve to encourage children and parents to wish to be a part of this community.

"In three more decades 1.5 million people will swarm over the Pontiac area. The city can be the axis of their activities, their promise of a quality life, the marketplace where they receive the things they want in exchange for their energies and talents. Or it can sit in apathy and let the human tide wash it into oblivion in favor of new or more active communities. Pontiac has already made its choice."

William W. Chase
"Design for Regenerating a City"
American Education
March, 1970 Page 9

NOTE: Photographs and drawings courtesy of Urban Design Associates

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SCHOOL DISTRICT, CITY OF PONTIAC

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Richard C. Fell, Assistant Superintendent

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Vernon L. Schiller, Business Manager

Additional copies of this booklet may be obtained by writing, or calling:

Office of School-Community and Human Relations

350 Wide Track Drive, E.

Pontiac, Michigan 48058

Telephone: 338-9151 Extensions 217 and 218

JOHN F. PERDUE, DIRECTOR

GENERAL PLAN FOR CURRICULUM ORGANIZATION

The curriculum for the Human Resources Center will be designed in terms of identified objectives based upon a sequential continuum. These objectives will be taught through a multi-media, multi-method approach relative to the individual needs and characteristics of the learner.

The children will be pretested in the Spring of 1971 and a profile summary of this test data will be available for initial placement during the Summer, 1971.

The following is an example of how the instruction could be done. In the example the various strategies of body motion, manipulation, pencil and paper, verbalization and one-one correspondence can be identified.

General Objective

Given 2 two-digit whole numbers the student can find the sum.

Specific Objectives

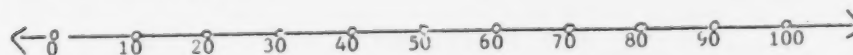
1. Given 2 two-digit whole numbers of multiples of ten, the student can find the sum.
2. Given 2 two-digit whole numbers which do not involve regrouping, the student can find the sum.
3. Given 2 two-digit whole numbers with regrouping, the student can find the sum.

Strategies for Objective #1

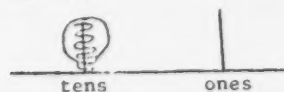
1. Have pupils count by 1's to 10 and then by 10's to 100 as the teacher writes the numerals.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

2. Join sets of concrete objects such as bundles of 10 straws.
3. Use numberline on floor. Children walk up and down numberline as they count by 10's.



4. Pupil manipulates an abacus using the beads on the ten's wire with no ones.



$$\begin{array}{r}
 20 \\
 +40 \\
 \hline
 60
 \end{array}$$

5. Write problems in both vertical and horizontal form.

$$2 \text{ tens} + 4 \text{ tens} = 6 \text{ tens}$$

2 tens	20
+4 tens	+40
6 tens	60

Evaluation

- | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1. 30
+60 | 2. 50
+40 | 3. 40
+20 | 4. 70
+20 | 5. 40
+50 |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
6. $30 + 40$
 7. $50 + 20$
 8. $30 + 60$
 9. $50 + 30$
 10. $10 + 80$

Strategies for Objective #2

- Pupils use dimes and pennies to find the sum of problems like 21 and 35.
- Have pupils use individual numberline to solve problems like the following:

13	23	34
+15	+12	+21

- Use expanded notation to solve the following:

35 +24	3 tens + 2 tens + 5 tens	+ 4 ones + 9 ones	= 30 + 20 + 50	+ 5 + 4 + 9	= 59
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- Develop the 3 step vertical algorithm, writing down the ones' step and the tens' step on separate lines.

23 = (20 + 3)
+45 = (40 + 5)
8 ← (3 + 5) Add the ones
60 ← (20 + 40) Add the tens
68 (60 + 8) Add the ones and tens

- Develop the standard algorithm and have student practice.

52 +23 5 ← (2 + 3) 70 ← (50 + 20) 75	Short Way	52 +23 75
--	-----------	-----------------

Evaluation

1. $10 + 12$

2. $12 + 13$

3. $21 + 25$

4. $34 + 44$

5. $43 + 52$

6.
$$\begin{array}{r} 14 \\ +52 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

7.
$$\begin{array}{r} 15 \\ +43 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

8.
$$\begin{array}{r} 24 \\ +33 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

9.
$$\begin{array}{r} 37 \\ +22 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

10.
$$\begin{array}{r} 48 \\ +50 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

Strategies for Objective #3

1. Use flannel board and combine sets of objects (such as 16 red squares and 17 gray squares) to demonstrate the problems to be learned.
2. Have student manipulate counters on an abacus or bundles of sticks to show regrouping.

$$\begin{array}{r} 24 \\ +38 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 20 + 4 \\ 30 + 8 \\ 50 + 12 \\ (50 + 10) + 2 \text{ or } 62 \end{array}$$

3. Develop a three-step algorithm writing down the sum of the ones, then the tens.

$$\begin{array}{r} 25 \\ +49 \\ \hline 14 \leftarrow (5 + 9) \\ 60 \leftarrow (20 + 40) \\ \hline 74 \leftarrow (14 + 60) \end{array}$$

4. Develop the standard algorithm and have student practice.

$$\begin{array}{r} 68 \\ +16 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 1 \\ 68 \\ 16 \\ \hline 4 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 1 \\ 6 \\ 1 \\ \hline 8 \end{array}$$

Write down the 4 (of the 14) in the ones' place. Write the 1 ten above the other ten. Then add all three numbers in the tens place.

$$1 + 6 + 1 = 8$$

5. Use tape recorder for oral presentation of problems. Students work mentally recording only answers on paper.

Ex. "Add 6 plus 7 plus 10"

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Evaluation

1. 15 <u>+16</u>	2. 24 <u>+16</u>	3. 45 <u>+16</u>	4. 34 <u>+29</u>	5. 53 <u>+47</u>
6. 68 <u>+47</u>	7. 73 <u>+68</u>	8. 58 <u>+79</u>	9. 87 <u>+27</u>	10. 99 <u>+89</u>

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HUMAN RESOURCES CENTER

Community School and Adult Services

From the outset, the Human Resources Center has been envisioned as a means to the regeneration of the central city as well as a focal point for activities designed to improve the life chances of citizens of all ages. Pontiac, like other similar communities, has a number of children who fail to grow and develop as we expect they should. In developing programs to meet the needs of these children, the school district has accepted the premise that the shortcomings or faults are to be sought in the structure of the system and not in the children. The school district also accepted the fact that providing a meaningful educational program for disadvantaged children is not a simple task. The deprived parents of today's deprived students are the products of an educational system which failed. Yet, we asked ourselves, how are the schools attended by today's youngsters much different than those attended by their parents? The programs described on the following pages are an attempt on the part of this school district and this community to bring about changes in both the educational processes and the manner in which the school relates to the people who reside in the community.

Through programs and services which will be offered at the Human Resources Center and the support of the City of Pontiac through the Neighborhood Development Program, residents should be able to enhance their economic ability, health, housing, education, community participation and family functioning. The center, then, will be far more than just another new

school. While meeting the need to replace obsolete school buildings, the center will also contain spaces for pre-school classes and activities to benefit out-of-school youth and adults. It will not function like any other school before it and will not look quite like any educational facility which has preceded it. Earlier sections of this prospectus have dealt with the basic educational program for pre-school and elementary age children. This section outlines the major characteristics of the community serving activities.

Objectives of the Community School Program:

The objectives and major activities of the community school program are outlined as follows:

- (1) To provide special programs and activities to supplement the basic instructional program. A year-round program to meet the recreational, social and cultural needs of children will be conducted on an after-school, weekend, and summer basis. Included will be:
 - (a) After-school and summer classes to build upon the regular school program.
 - (b) Recreation and enrichment activities.
 - (c) Increased adult-pupil contact through volunteer tutorial programs.
 - (d) Student recognition activities.
 - (e) Field trips.
 - (f) Cultural activities in the areas of music, art, and literature.
 - (g) Maintenance of an open library and resource center.
- (2) To provide programs to meet the special needs of children and the community through direct assistance and/or referrals to other agencies. An advisory committee consisting of representatives from the community,

school, city government, and the various public and private agencies which offer services to area residents will be established to provide coordination between agencies and to serve as a clearing house in an attempt to insure that the total need of families are met. Included in the building design are facilities to house agency personnel and to provide direct medical and dental treatment to children and adults. Several preliminary meetings have been conducted with agency representatives and it is anticipated that agencies such as the following will provide full or part-time personnel and services in the Human Resources Center:

- (a) Oakland County Mental Health Society
- (b) Oakland County Department of Health
- (c) Aid to Dependent Children
- (d) Legal Aid Society
- (e) Oakland County Commission on Economic Opportunity
- (f) Oakland County Family Service
- (g) Pontiac Area Urban League
- (h) City of Pontiac Public Library
- (i) City of Pontiac Department of Parks and Recreation
- (j) City of Pontiac Department of Planning and Urban Renewal
- (k) Oakland County Volunteer Bureau
- (l) Oakland Community College
- (m) Oakland University
- (n) Mott Institute for Community Improvement, Michigan State University

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Facilities have been included in the building design to house elementary guidance counselors, school nurses, school social workers, and school psychologists to be provided by the school district. In addition, it is anticipated that a hot breakfast and hot lunch program will be provided for pupils.

(3) To involve parents in their child's school program.

The vast majority of parents of disadvantaged children want an education for their child leading to a better life than they have obtained. In many cases, parents do not know how to help their child achieve and, because of their unhappy school experiences, fear the school and school people. An obligation of the school should be to assist parents in achieving the confidence and sophistication they need to support their child in the educational process. The program of parent involvement in the pre-school years has been described earlier. However, it should be added here that through the combined efforts of school and agency personnel, it is anticipated that continuing contact between the school and the parent will be maintained from the pre-natal period through the school years of the child. A variety of avenues will be utilized to maintain this close contact as outlined below:

- (a) Positive teacher and administrator home visitations;
- (b) Frequent teacher phone calls and notes to parents.
- (c) Home-school liaison workers.
- (d) Urban League liaison workers

- (e) Administrator-parent luncheons
 - (f) Parent-teacher conferences
 - (g) Parent volunteer activities
 - (h) Advisory committees
- (5) To familiarize parents and residents with the resources of the school and community and methods of exercising their rights and responsibilities. In carrying out this objective, two major vehicles will be employed: the community advisory council and the block club. If the physical environment of the community is to be improved; if the school is to provide a meaningful educational program; and if the social, economic and health needs of the community are to be met, citizens will need to be involved directly in the decision making process. Therefore, some means of facilitating this process must be developed. In the past, a system of block organizations feeding into an area advisory committee has met with a considerable degree of success in terms of involving residents in meaningful dialogue with school, city and agency representatives. It is anticipated that school and agency representatives will initiate the formation of block clubs and advisory committees but step back into the role of resources persons after the individual unit is organized and functioning. A community newsletter will be issued on a regular basis to inform residents of current school and community activities and to provide a forum for the discussion of issues. It is also anticipated that parent field trips to other school districts and municipalities will be organized for the

purpose of learning about promising innovations and solutions to common problems.

(6) To provide home-management classes for parents.

Through the services of the Pontiac Schools Adult Education Department, City of Pontiac Department of Parks and Recreation Department, Oakland Community College, Oakland University and Michigan State University Cooperative Extension Program a series of classes will be conducted at the Human Resources Center to assist families in managing their home responsibilities.

A list of possible classes is included below:

- (a) Expectant Couples
- (b) Child Growth and Development
- (c) One-Parent Families
- (d) Budgeting
- (e) Family Scheduling
- (f) Income Tax
- (g) Sex Education
- (h) Sewing
- (i) Upholstering
- (j) Home Remodeling
- (k) Appliance Repair
- (l) Cooking and Baking
- (m) Interior Decorating
- (n) Woodworking and Metal Working

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In addition, the possibilities of organizing a cooperative grocery, appliance and furniture buying club will be investigated.

(7) To provide a self-improvement program for adult and out-of-school youth.

Many of the adults residing in the HRC area are handicapped by a low educational level and a lack of the skills necessary for the enjoyment of an enriched life. Therefore, it is anticipated that a variety of day, night and summer classes and seminars will be organized to include the following:

- (a) Adult Basic Education
- (b) Hobby Oriented Classes
- (c) Foreign Language
- (d) Recreational Pursuit Classes
- (e) Driver Education
- (f) Consumer Education
- (g) Smoking Clinics
- (h) Alcohol and Narcotics Education

(8) To provide recreational programs for students, adults and out-of-school youth.

The HRC plant will encompass one of the finest recreational-cultural facilities in the city. Included are a large gym, a community auditorium, vocal and instrumental music facilities, an arts and crafts area, a home economics room, an industrial arts facility as well as a large food service area. Several of these areas will be available for day as well as evening use. A wide range of activities for all ages will be scheduled in conjunction with community desires and in cooperation with the Pontiac Parks and Recreation Department. It is anticipated that this function will serve an area larger than that included in the HRC attendance area.

- (9) To provide support and facilities for use by community organizations.

If the HRC is to fulfill its major purposes it must relate effectively and cooperatively with the variety of community organizations which serve both children and adults. Therefore, the staff will be available to work closely with the leadership of groups and agencies in the planning of activities within the community and in the HRC facility.

- (10) To provide a program of high school completion for adults and out-of-school youth. Many adult residents in the community have not

completed the requirements for a high school diploma and are, therefore, handicapped in securing satisfactory employment and promotion. Through the services of the Pontiac Schools Adult Education Department, a wide range of high school credit and high school equivalency (GED) classes will be offered both during the day and in the evenings. It is anticipated that the typical resident will be able to complete the majority of the requirements for a high school diploma or equivalency certificate in the HRC facility.

- (11) To provide occupational guidance, professional growth and job upgrading opportunities to adults and out-of-school youth. Through the services

of Oakland Community College, the Michigan Employment Securities Commission, the Pontiac Area Urban League and the Pontiac Schools Adult Education Department a continuing series of seminars and individual consultations will be conducted for community residents. The major purpose of these sessions will be to provide information and counseling concerning improved employment opportunities as well as

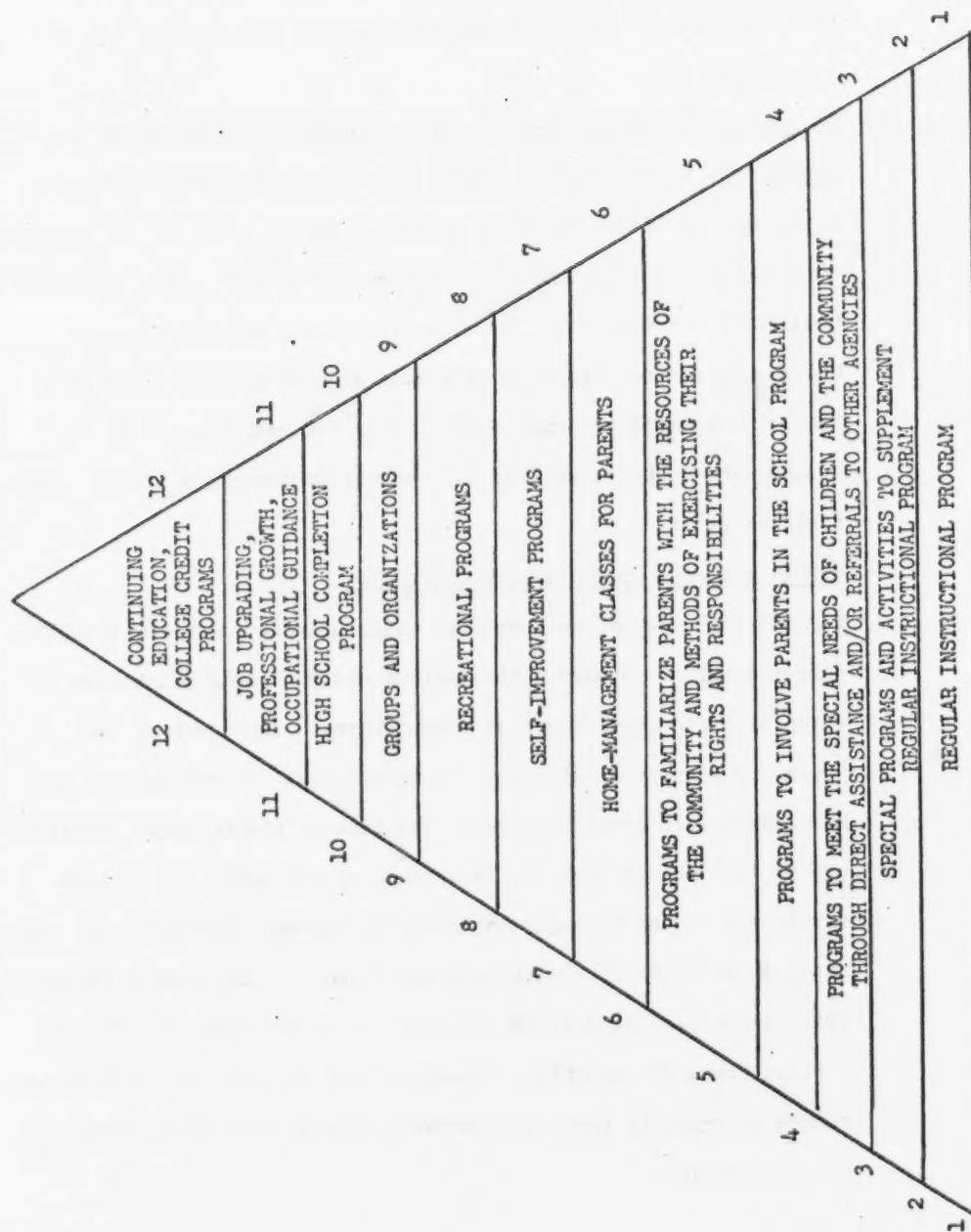
the resources and programs available to meet the appropriate requirements.

- (12) To provide for the continuing education needs of adults and out-of-school youth. The career ladder concept for paraprofessionals employed in the HRC has been described earlier. In addition, it is anticipated that the HRC facility will be utilized by Oakland Community College, Oakland University, Michigan State University and Wayne State University for off-campus undergraduate, graduate and continuing education classes designed specifically for residents of the greater community as well as for professional members of the school district staff.

Emphasis of the Community School Program

The previous section reviewed the major objectives of the community school program. However, the section did not imply priorities in terms of effort and financial expenditures. The chart on the following page is an attempt to conceptualize the emphasis of the Human Resources Center program. The base of the triangle indicates the major emphasis (Regular Instructional Program). As we move vertically on the triangle the emphasis becomes less until we reach the peak or level 12 (Continuing Education, College Credit Programs). This is not to indicate that college credit programs are less important than, for example, home-management classes, but instead the ranked priority in terms of community need and resources available to the district.

HUMAN RESOURCES CENTER
EMPHASIS OF COMMUNITY SCHOOL PROGRAM



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**HUMAN RESOURCE
CENTER
A
HANDBOOK
FOR PARENTS**



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STATEMENT

The Human Resources Center is an educational institution designed to help people develop their talents and human potential throughout their lives. Services and programs in the Center will be carried on for children in their pre-school years, children in their elementary school years, out-of-school youth, and adults throughout their lifetimes.

"If we can bring white and black parents and their children together in one setting with fully enriched educational, social, and recreational programs, there should be a potential environment to improve the total living of residents in that quadrant of the inner city."

"Human beings have an almost unlimited potential for growth, for learning, and for self-improvement throughout most of their lives. It is to assist in this lifelong development of human talent and human potential that the Human Resources Center concept was born."¹

¹Dr. Dana P. Whitmer, Superintendent, School District of the City of Pontiac, Pontiac, Michigan.

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STRUCTURE

Director: Dr. Thor Petersen
Principal, North Wing: Harriette D. Brooks
Principal, East Wing and Central Teams: James Davis

North Wing

Team Leaders

Kenneth Harger -- Teams 1 and 2
Zetella Rabb -- Team 3
Ida Thomas -- Team 4
Barbara Cogswell -- Teams 5 and 6

Teachers

Patricia McGraw
Kathryn McDonald
Mary Stovall
Christina Sideboard
Holly Davis
Sandra Beck
Mike Mansoux
Annie Morris
Joyce Wims
Janet Small

Sally Pike
William Waters
Jeanne LeRoux
Reisa Rice
Martha Kasameyer
Eric Binder
Catherine Cunningham
Calvin Oppenheim
Barry Rubin
Mary Garvin

Sarah Jones

Bilingual Teachers

Alicia Coppola
Cathy Ferguson
Joan Peterson

ST3P Intern

Maria Schulmeyer

Full Time Student Teacher

Sandra Cripps

Urban Corps Interns

Julius Maddox
Patricia Waller
Jean Montgomery
Steve Poissant
Thomas Smith

Enid Childers
Cecilia Garcia
Reginald Davis
Howard Bell
Walter Thompson

Bob Lehman
Harry McPhail
Ralph Schick
Nancy Bailey

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Special Teachers

Ann Powers - Vocal Music
Tom Anderson - Physical Education
Phyllis Williams - Librarian (Media Specialist)
Otha Whitcomb - Art
Janie Payne - Counselor
Marilyn Baumkel - Remedial Reading
Rosa Henderson - Oral Language Resource Teacher - Consultant
Velma McLain - Speech Correctionist

Oral Language Assistants

Betty Flye
Pauline Cooper
Evelyn Gilder

Library Assistants

Frances Shaw
Alberta Henson

Bilingual Teacher Assistants

Cipriana Adkins
Rosa Aleman
Alicia Garcia
Delphine Hernandez
Alicia Rodriguez

COP Teacher Assistants

Barbara Smith
Ilar Daniels
Isabelita Ortiz
Jennifer Quince
Ellen Whithers
Nancy Castro

East Wing

Team Leaders

Erna Coit
Norma Darr
Marlene Piasecki

Teachers

Virginia Kipper	Cheryl Joyner	Ruth Brice	Donna Wallace
Lillie Johnson	Elizabeth Zielinski	Jean Odle	Linda Prendergast
Johnnye Giglio	Jacqueline Golden	Roger Hackbarth	Elizabeth Grazioli
Sheila Landis	Janice Heyse	Edith Shorter	

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East Wing (Cont'd.)

Kindergarten

Mary Cartier
Bernie Friedman
Patricia Johnson

Special Education

E. Borovich
Carol Ahnen
Carol Bentz
Connie Howard
Florence Etefia
Rachel Gingrich
Byron MacDonald
Mary Mitchell
Donna Wallace

Special Teachers

Douglas Robinson -- Counselor
Norma Pond -- Remedial Reading
Josephine Davidson -- Oral Language Resource Teacher

COP Teacher Assistants

Gloria Bosworth
Thomas Crawford
Brenda Gracy
Marie Logan
Marie McCullum

Oral Language Assistants

Erma Hirsch
Gettie Smith
Mae Talbert
Essie Boston - Substitute

ST3P Interns

Marlene Brown	Constance Calabrese	Fred Peiss
Alma Downie	Shirley Durnbaugh	Michael Mellon
Heather Heintz	Sylvia Windi	Kathleen Tessier
Joel Marwil	Elspeth Murphy	Betty Harris
Michael Murphy	William Moorman	

Full Time Student Teacher
Leona Johnson

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To Parents:

Your child's enrollment in kindergarten and elementary school is the most important step forward in his school life. You have the sincere desire to help your child achieve in school. Your child's success in school will be determined to a great degree by the close working partnership between the home and the school. He has to learn to live and work in school with other boys and girls under the guidance of well-qualified teachers.

It is the purpose of the school to provide every child with the best possible education. In order to meet the educational needs of your child who is entering the Human Resources Center, a program called the nongraded school has been organized.

The term "nongraded school" describes the program of instruction organized at the beginning of first grade and continuing at the Human Resources Center through what is traditionally known as fourth grade. The purpose of the nongraded school is to provide a more flexible plan for grouping children so that they will progress at their own individual rates of learning. Your child will be provided with a firm foundation in reading, writing, spelling, and mathematics. He will also study science, social studies, art, music, and other subjects to provide for a well balanced program.

*All children entering the school from other established schools will be appropriately placed through the use of diagnostic tests, teacher observation, and cumulative data. Placement will not be based upon reading achievement alone. Rather, a given child may find himself placed in one group for reading, another for math, etc. True individualization of instruction, based upon the pupil's successes rather than his failures, will be the keystone of the program. In this program it will not be necessary for a child to repeat work that he has already mastered, nor will areas of instruction be omitted for children who move at a faster rate.

This handbook has been prepared to help you understand the organization and operation of the instructional program in the Human Resources Center.

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FORWARD

The nongraded school is a plan of school organization by which children are grouped for continuous progress. It seeks to meet the needs and individual differences of each child so that he will develop to his maximum potential mentally, emotionally, and physically. Our aim is to establish a new and different process which brings together teacher education and introduces a promising program in education.

Our program is designed to be responsive to changing needs of students and communities and to establish within the total context of the school community the process for self-renewal.

In the Human Resources Center we plan to remove grade labels eventually and place children in flexible groups in which achievement levels are set up to insure the pupils understanding of what is to be learned. Each child is placed on a continuum and moves through the levels of the curriculum at his own rate. A level consists of a prescribed set of skills and learnings through which children are guided at their own rate.

We hope that most children will be able to move through our program in four years. A few will probably complete the work in three years, and some may find it necessary to remain in the program for five years because they need additional time to develop and master basic skills.

Children grouped in the nongraded school will not experience promotion or retention because each year they will start where they left off and continue on to the next level. There is no failure during the years the child is in the nongraded school.

In the event that the child moves from the Human Resources Center to another school or district which does not have a nongraded program, his teachers will assess this progress and equate it with the grade at which he would be functioning in a traditional school setting.

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A STATEMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

We believe that it is the responsibility of the school to equip each child with the tools of mobility that will enable him to function effectively in today's society and tomorrow's world. We believe this is possible only if each child's capabilities is developed to the fullest extent. Such a concept implies that more attention be given to the individual differences and the rate of learning of all children.

We believe that the purpose of the nongraded concept is to promote the continuous development of the whole child. It seeks to create flexible learning situations in which teachers can adjust their programs to work more creatively with children according to their needs and the range of individual abilities.

We believe the teacher needs to know how to participate in the creation of new procedures and forms and how they relate to school life. He or she should be tuned in to the changing times and be able to create new goals and assemble the means for carrying them out. Perhaps most critical, he needs to know how to train himself or herself for new educational rules.

We believe that it should be the purpose of the school to provide the best possible learning situation for children so that they will have more opportunities to experience success early in their school life.

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GOALS OF THE NONGRADED SCHOOL

The purpose for adopting the ungraded plan of organization are:

- - To provide for continuous progress for all children.
- - To provide the opportunity for each child to learn and grow at his own rate.
- - To base teaching on what is known about child growth and development.
- - To provide flexible groupings in which a child can learn more effectively.
- - To identify and challenge the faster learner and the slow learner and place each child where he can learn and meet with success as he moves at his own rate.
- - To change the focus from how a child is achieving in comparison with grade level standards to how he is achieving in terms of his own ability and stage of development.
- - To avoid compounded failures and repeating what has already been learned.
- - To establish a pattern of success early in the school life of the child.
- - To improve the child's self-image and promote better mental health.

10006

CHILD GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

Children Grow in Different Ways

_____ Some may be short, tall, fat, thin.

Children Learn at Different Rates

_____ Some are very fast learners

_____ Some are fast learners

_____ Some are slow learners

_____ Some are slow starters

Each Child Moves Through the Nongraded School at His Own Rate

_____ Most children will complete the levels of instruction offered in the Human Resources Center in four years.

_____ Some may finish the instructional program in less than four years.

_____ Some children may need as much as five years time to complete the instructional program offered in the Human Resources Center.

In the Nongraded School

_____ There is no failure.

_____ There is no repeating what is learned.

_____ There is no holding back.

_____ There is no skipping of work to be learned.

_____ The child makes continuous progress.

_____ The individual needs of the child are met.

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LET'S LOOK AT GRADES AND LEVELS

NONGRADED SCHOOL

	Levels - Continuous progress with no time limit for each level	Reading Levels (Textbooks)	Grades - One school year per grade
K I N D E R G A R T E N	Level I Level II	Readiness	Kindergarten
F I R S T Y E A R	Level III Level IV Level V	Pre-Primer Primer First Reader	1
S E C O N D Y E A R	Level VI Level VII	Second Reader Book I Second Reader Book II	2

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T H I R D Y E A R	Levels - Continuous progress with no time limit for each level	Reading Levels (Textbooks)	Grades - One school year per grade
	Level VIII Level IX	Third Reader Book I Third Reader Book II	3
F O U R T H Y E A R	Level X Level XI and XII	Fourth Reader Book I Fifth Readers and Enrichment	4

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS CONCERNING
THE NONGRADED SCHOOL

1. What is the nongraded school?

The nongraded school is a plan of school organization which allows the child to move through the levels at his own rate. No grade labels are used, but the levels of achievement are set up. As rapidly as a child completes the curriculum requirements of one level, he is moved to the next level. This plan provides for continuous progress for children without skipping or repeating any of the work.

2. How are the levels determined?

The content and skills are organized by levels in step-by-step sequence to meet the varying needs of children. The levels are as follows: the levels 1 through 5 are the equivalent of the traditional expectations of the first grade; levels 6 and 7 correspond to the second grade; levels 8 and 9 third grade; and, level 10 fourth grade.

3. What is the difference between the word "grade" and the term "level" as used in the nongraded school.

Grade traditionally means achievement with a time limit (one year).

Level, as used here, means achievement without a time limit.

4. Is the work well organized?

Yes, Within the nongraded school, the instructional material is organized to meet the needs, interests and abilities of pupils.

5. Why are children placed in levels instead of grades?

Children may vary widely in their achievement in any grade level. Children in grade two may read from pre-primer level to fourth reader level. The ungraded school is organized by levels so that each child can be placed at a level where he can be challenged and from which he can move to the next level.

6. Will children do less work in the nongraded school?

No. Reports show that children do as much or more work than they do in graded schools. Removal of grade blocks frees the child to move ahead continuously.

7. What happens when a child is transferred from the nongraded school to a school on a graded plan?

Our school would recommend proper placement for the child. Complete records of achievement will be sent to the receiving school.

8. Will different methods and materials be used?

Teachers are using new materials and different techniques in the nongraded school. They are working with new ways of teaching reading, math, science

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and social studies. They are working with individualized reading and team teaching.

9. How will parents know how the children are doing?

Parents will be made aware of the child's progress through parent-teacher conferences and progress reports.

10. How do teachers feel about the nongraded school?

This plan means more work for teachers for they must keep even more accurate records of individual needs and pupil progress. Nevertheless, teachers feel that the values to children will be worth the extra work. They feel that they get to know their children better. This program allows teachers to work individually in more meaningful and creative ways.

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HOW PARENTS CAN HELP

Readiness Level

1. Show an interest in what your child is doing.
2. Look at and discuss things with your child.
3. Help your child read pictures.
4. Have your child find labels in the home that begin with certain letters.
5. Let your child talk. Listen to him.
6. Encourage but do not force your child to read.
7. Show warmth and patience.
8. Praise him when he does something well.

Pre-Primer Level

1. Continue to read stories and books to your child.
2. Continue to encourage your child to read (words on TV, signs, words on cereal boxes, etc.)
3. Study word list every night.
4. Use magazines to find sound pictures.
5. Provide notebooks for children's work when needed.
6. Discuss your child's daily papers. Help him to correct errors.
7. Show genuine and continued interest in your child.
8. Help your child get to bed on time.

Primer Level

1. Help your child to write short stories about pictures.
2. Provide your child with a library card to show him he can take books home to read.
3. Help your child with reading by supplying the right word.
4. Praise your child's reading ability.
5. Listen to your child when he brings home books or homework to read.

First Reader Level

1. Help your child to practice recognizing the alphabet.
2. Read books and stories together.
3. Help your child make a list of rhyming words (ball-call).
4. Encourage your child to use the library.
5. Continue to listen to your child read current work activities and home study assignments.

Second Reader -- Level 2¹

1. Encourage your child to go to the library and choose books that can be fun to read.
2. Help your child use words in sentences and write short stories about pictures.
3. Encourage your child to read to other members of the family.
4. Give paperback books and other kinds of books for birthdays, Christmas, and other special days for his own.
5. Play word games with your child.
6. Help the child read Weekly Readers, newspapers and other papers brought home.
7. Review your child's weekly word spelling list.

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Second Reader - Level 2⁴

1. Read stories and poems in your child's presence.
2. Praise your child as he reads and shares his work with you.
3. Check spelling list and work study papers.
4. Practice adding and subtracting numbers.
5. Visit the school and talk to your child's teachers.
6. Provide your child with many experiences.
 - Trips around community and city.
 - Visit the museum, zoo and airport.
 - Care for pets and growing plants.
 - Visit a farm or the country.
 - Visit public buildings and memorials in the city.
7. Show your child how to count and use money wisely (coins).
8. See that your child gets to bed early enough to be rested and alert the next day.

Third Reader - Level 3¹

1. Provide a quiet place for your child to read.
2. Take your child to the library.
3. Continue to show an interest in your child's reading.
4. Provide a variety of educational experiences for your child (trips, picnics, movies, toys, games, walks, programs).
5. Help your child to select radio and television programs.

Third Reader - Level 3²

1. Continue to show an interest in your child.
2. Listen while your child tells about story or book read.
3. Continue to help your child select radio, movie, and television shows that are desirable for him.
4. Encourage library reading and the reading of many books and magazines in the home.
5. Give your child certain responsibilities to do for the family.
6. Encourage your child to take part in family discussion.
7. Show genuine and continued interest in your child.

Fourth Reader

1. Continue to help your child in the selection of radio, movie and television shows.
2. Lead your child into the discussion of events that require reading the paper, listening to the radio or watching television.
3. Let your child tutor or read to other family members.
4. Continue to provide a special place for your child to study.
5. Help him to become critical in his thinking -- dividing fact from fiction.
6. Continue to give him the support that he needs in all areas of his school work. (Do not do his work for him).
7. Set aside a certain period daily for your child to do homework, special reading, etc.
8. Continue to stress the importance of getting to bed early so that he will get enough rest.
9. If you disagree with homework or some other school practice discuss it with the teacher beyond the child's hearing.
10. Speak in positive terms rather than the negative.
11. Encourage your child without getting into the habit of paying him for everything that he does.
- 12.. Help your child to set realistic goals.

FROM MRS. ROBERT ANDERSON

[The Pontiac Press, Nov. 2, 1971]

NEW IMAGE, SPIRIT EMERGE AT JEFFERSON

By Bill Felch

"Say It Loud 'Cause We're Proud—Jefferson Junior High."

This slogan, which is being spread around Pontiac on buttons and bumper stickers, is one of many indications of change at Jefferson Junior High School this fall.

Administrators of the school on Pontiac's south side recently told The Press about activities and plans which have come out of the school's drive for a new image and spirit.

As Jefferson changed from all black to 60 per cent white this year as a result of the court-ordered integration plan, administrators, teachers and students joined ranks to prove that integration can work and that Jefferson can be a "quality school."

Indications are that they are succeeding.

The drive began last year when administrators met to consider how they would handle integration.

They decided that, rather than merely comply with the court order, they would enter into the spirit of it.

They made plans to operate under the premise that the best thing for children is to be in an integrated situation to get to know each other as individuals.

The administrators met with teachers before school opened this fall and instructed them to leave all their prejudices at home and treat the students as individuals.

The teachers responded by agreeing to come to school early to meet and mix with the children as they got off the buses.

When school opened the principal, Dr. Odell Nails, met with the students in small and large groups to explain what he hoped to accomplish at Jefferson.

When Dr. Nails was appointed director of secondary instruction in Pontiac on Oct. 7 the new principal, Darryl Lee, continued Dr. Nails' plans and added many of his own. Lee has been at the school for 14 years.

The administration went so far as to disperse the races in the classroom to prevent students from segregating themselves because of insecurity.

And this approach had the effect they had hoped for.

Lee reports that the students remain mixed when they are on their own, in the cafeteria for example.

And Jefferson has had very few of the incidents which have been prevalent in some of Pontiac schools this year.

On Oct. 19 the school held an Earth Day to demonstrate to the public that it was united in its self-improvement efforts. The administrators, students and teachers cleaned up the school yard and planted bushes and flowers.

Assistant Principal Dominic Paterra remarked that the community had responded to Earth Day. "It's something that really makes us feel good," he said.

"The plants and flowers all could have disappeared overnight, but they didn't. And we've had less litter on school grounds than before."

Lee and Paterra described plans for a recycling day, when papers and bottles would be collected, and for a nature center in the courtyard in back of the school. The entire science department, under the leadership of Doug Adams is working on the projects.

Lee also mentioned other physical changes he wanted to make inside the school. "It's hard to have good school spirit when your school building is a dreary place," he said. "We need better lighting and brighter colors in the school to help the spirit."

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"These walls haven't been painted in eight or nine years, and this school hasn't had other things that are normally considered maintenance," Lee added. "The board tells us the maintenance crews are occupied someplace else."

The principal also mentioned that he hoped the board would approve funds for transportation so that children from out of the neighborhood could stay after school and participate in clubs and other activities.

"And there will be more things," said Paterra, "but the ideas will come from the kids. Our role is to facilitate these good ideas."

Paterra continued, "I think the schools have to take the leadership in seeing to it that the kids can make their own adjustment in going to school with each other and living with each other."

"Our kids made it work. We were just participants."

HE'S THE MAN BEHIND JEFFERSON SUCCESSES

By Dan Trainor

A silver cup and a little wine.

Rather unusual teaching tools, but a pair that set the scene for a successful and peaceful opening at Jefferson Junior High School this year.

The cup and the wine belong to Dr. O'dell Nails—a gift from the teachers as he left his principalship at Jefferson to become director of secondary education for the Pontiac schools.

When the teachers came to Jefferson, explained Nails, "I half-jokingly told them I was going to bring a cup of wine around to each of them," adding, "It is a custom that if you drink the wine, you're with me."

"I never came around with the wine," Nails said, "because after the first week I knew it wasn't necessary."

"But at the party the teachers at Jefferson presented me with a silver cup and a bottle of wine saying pour and drink it with us," he added.

The cup and the wine are only part of a philosophy Dr. Nails holds and one that has proven successful highly at Jefferson which two years ago was on the verge of being phased out and today brings outcries from citizens at the mere mention of a phase-out.

"My philosophy of administration is that you can't teach 30 classrooms. The purpose is to create an atmosphere where teachers want to teach and the kids want to learn. Once that is established then the control factors are eliminated."

Nails' success in his philosophy is hard to dispute. After Nails became principal at Jefferson, students of the previously predominant black school raised their achievement level 50 per cent in the first year on the national achievement tests.

In October 1970, when fighting broke out at Central High School and spread to nearly all of the junior high schools, Jefferson was quiet.

The year when incidents at the other five junior high schools are numerous, Jefferson reported only one in the first seven weeks.

"I am really student-oriented and I really like kids and apparently the kids like me," Nails added, "so we had a beautiful relationship."

"You have a feeling about kids and they react to how they think you feel toward them," Nails said.

"On the first day of school," Nails said, "I told them that there are no black kids and no white kids at Jefferson, just Jeffersonians and if they had any adverse thoughts toward one another to leave them at home and use them on weekends and holidays."

When Nails assumed the post of principal in April 1969, Jefferson's image was badly tarnished and there were serious thoughts in the community and the administration that the school should be phased out.

"This presented me with two main challenges," Nails said. "One to prove that black kids can achieve on the national level, and we have done this."

Part of this program was a campaign—"Say it loud 'cause we're proud."

"This was to build a spirit and a self-ego among the students," Nails said. "If they believe in themselves, it will motivate them to achieve; and we proved that."

"This year the needs were different," he added. "There was a challenge to prove integration will work and the students could get along with decency, respect and friendship, and we did."

Nails came from Detroit where, he said, just its size prevents a person from accomplishing much. "I love Pontiac. It's smaller and more personal where

you can work with people and not for them, and you can see the results of your work."

Nails added that he likes working in an integrated system especially after his 18 years experience in the Army Reserves where he was commander of a 1,735 man infantry battalion that had only 63 blacks.

He left the unit after being passed over for promotion because of his failure to have one required Army course.

When word came that he was passed over, Nails said the entire battalion went on a two-day sitdown strike, "which is unheard of in the military."

As he left the battalion, Nails discovered the battalion had sent a petition with more than 1,000 signatures protesting the action, and then presented him with a silver cup inscribed, "To the Best Damn Officer Ever."

Nails said he doesn't believe being a black administrator will be any harder but added, "I may keep on my toes more often."

He believes Pontiac will soon quiet down and people will eventually accept integration.

"Any change has its resistance," Nails said. "It is in style to resist and some resist for the sake of resisting."

"The kinds of tensions you have now, and by the way are diminishing, will diminish completely once the novelty of integration wears off," he added.

"Then kids will return to being kids."

STUDENTS CERTAIN: WE CAN MAKE INTEGRATION WORK

By Fill Felch

Evidence that the drive for a new image for Jefferson Junior High School is succeeding comes from a group of students called "We Can Make It Work."

The goal of the 18 black and white seventh-graders is to let the outside world know that integration is working at Jefferson.

They hope to disprove much of what they see and read about integration by talking to the media themselves and speaking at school meetings and other rallies.

No one could state their case better than they do.

The following is derived from a press conference the students held at Jefferson last Wednesday after school. The questions were asked by The Press.

Q. How do you like busing?

A. KIM PERRY. That's cool! It's really nice to get to meet other people.

Q. Why did you get together?

A. KIM. The parents in NAG (National Action Group) speak out, but the kids don't. So we want to show the people who think busing's bad that it isn't.

A. SHARYL TOBY. Parents say it's bad for kids to go to schools. I think it would be bad staying home rather than going and learning about each other.

Q. Does everyone here feel the same way?

A. ALL. Yes . . . everyone in school.

JOHN KINDIG. We speak for almost everyone in the school. A couple of kids are puppets of their parents. A lot of the people who talk about busing don't really have an idea of what it's like 'cause they aren't kids.

KEVIN SWEENEY. Everyone's been going out and telling things that aren't true and haven't been happening. But they aren't in the school. We're proud of what's going on.

RAMONA PARKER. Some parents influence their kids how to think. Kids have been quiet for a long time, and it's about time we had our say.

SHARYL. We don't want the parents in this. We want to show that we can make it work.

Several students chanting: We can make it work. We can make it work. We can make it work.

BRENDA BRISCOE. People in my neighborhood think busing's good. Since the white people have come over here, they're putting new stuff in the school. Before it would take three weeks to get a broken window and now they do it the next day.

KIM. Parents can visit here and see if the schools are bad.

SHARYL. The parents grew up that way. We're trying to fix it so more kids won't be brought up like that.

KATHY MCGARRAGAN (about the David Frost Show). Mrs. (Marie) Johnson was telling it like it is. Mrs. (Irene) McCabe didn't—she wasn't here. What do these people in the NAG sweatshirts know—they don't send their kids to school.

APRIL BARR. The parents are the trouble, and we wish they'd stay out of it.
Q. What about incidents here?

A. JOHN. There are the normal fights, but races didn't count.

KEVIN. And one of the fights in the paper didn't happen.

KIM. Can we get a way to get hold of Mrs. McCabe and give her a piece of our mind? Why don't we bring her here and show her how it's working.

KATHY. Kids mix like us all over the school. We see each other as individuals. It's the whole school.

SHARYL. We want to go to the NAP people and explain it to them.

JOHN. They're trying to make it not work harder than they're trying to make it work. Coming to Jefferson, we're learning about brotherhood . . .

KATHY. And living with other people. It's the kids that are keeping problems away from Jefferson.

FROM MRS. JO ANN WALKER

Results from the Stanford Diagnostic Reading Test, administered September 13-September 20, 1971, Jefferson Junior High, 600 Motor, Pontiac, Mich.

ALL HOURS—EACH GRADE LEVEL

	Total		Black		White		Spanish American	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
2 to 2.9	43	8	34	14	8	2	1	1
3 to 3.9	70	13	53	21	15	5	1	1
4 to 4.9	100	18	59	19	45	17	1	1
5 to 5.9	122	22	50	19	64	24	6	7
6 to 6.9	76	14	36	14	40	15		
7 to 7.9	56	10	21	8	34	13		
8 to 8.9	28	5	5	2	23	8		
9 to 9.9	19	3	4	2	15	5		
10 to 10.9	12	2	3	1	9	3		
11 to 11.9	10	2	2	1	7	3		
12 to 12.9	11	2	0		11	4		
Total	548		258		271		9	

Hours and race	Number of each grade level											Total
	2 to 2.9	3 to 3.9	4 to 4.9	5 to 5.9	6 to 6.9	7 to 7.9	8 to 8.9	9 to 9.9	10 to 10.9	11 to 11.9	12 to 12.9	
1 hour.....	9	17	21	23	15	13	5	5	3	3	2	116
Black.....	7	13	11	12	9	3	2		1			58
White.....	1	3	9	9	6	10	3	5	2	3	2	53
Spanish American.....	1	1	1	1								4
2 hours.....	7	13	22	24	20	14	6	3	4	1	1	115
Black.....	5	11	10	12	14	12		2	1	1		68
White.....	2	2	11	19	6	2	6	1	3		1	53
Spanish American.....				2								2
3 hours.....	8	22	25	26	11	13	4	3	1	5	2	120
Black.....	7	15	11	10	5	2				1		51
White.....	1	7	11	15	6	10	4	3	1	3	2	63
Spanish American.....				2								2
4 hours.....	10	10	14	26	15	11	9	4	2		5	106
Black.....	9	7	10	15	3	4		2				50
White.....	1	3	4	11	12	7	9	2	2		5	56
Spanish American.....												
5 hours.....	9	8	18	23	15	5	4	4	2	1	1	90
Black.....	6	7	7	11	5		3		1			40
White.....	3	1	10	10	10	5	1	4	1	1	1	46
Spanish American.....				2								2

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READING COMPREHENSION GRADE LEVELS

School	2 to 4.9				5 to 7.9			
	Black		Spanish American		Black		White	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Alcott							11	69
Bagley	32	68		12	15	32		
Baldwin							18	56
Bethune	25	59		34	17	40	1	2
Central	18	72		19	7	28	9	56
Crofoot			1	5			1	
Emerson	14	37			18	47		
Franklin							7	78
Irving			1	27			5	33
Owen							3	25
McCarroll							21	43
Webster	2	40		20			22	48
Whitfield				17	2		7	70
Whitman			4	30			1	20
Whitner	38	64	1		16	27		
Wisner				67	1		8	33
Longfellow							3	
Frost							1	
McConnell	3							
Mark Twain					1			
Wilson				25			3	38
Parochial					1			
Other schools				33	3	5	1	17
Out of State	3	50	2					
Total								

READING COMPREHENSION GRADE LEVELS

Schools	8 to 10.9				11 to 12.9			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Alcott.....			3	19				
Baldwin.....			3	9				
Crofoot.....			3	19			1	9
Emerson.....							1	50
Franklin.....					6	16		
Irving.....			1	11			1	11
Owen.....			6	40				
McCarroll.....			6	50			3	25
Webster.....	2	40	10	20	1	20	8	16
Whitfield.....			12	26	1	2	4	4
Whittier.....	4	7					1	2
Frost.....	1							
Parochial.....			2	25			1	13
Total.....								

10018

119

811

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School	Black	White	Spanish American	School	Black	White	Spanish American
Alcott.....		16		Whitman.....	2	10	5
Bagley.....	47			Whittier.....	59	1	1
Baldwin.....		32		Wisner.....	1	24	1
Bethune.....	42	1		Lingfellow.....		3	
Central.....			1	McConnell.....	3		
Crofoot.....	25	16		Frost.....	1	1	
Emerson.....		2	1	Mark Twain.....	1	1	
Franklin.....	28	1		Wilson.....	1		
Irving.....		9		Parochial.....		8	
Owen.....		15	2	Other schools.....	1		
McCarroll.....		12		Out of State.....	6	3	1
Webster.....	5	49					
Whitfield.....	3	46		Total.....	235	250	12

JEFFERSON JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL READING SCORES, 1971

All hours—Each grade level

	Total	Percent	Black	Percent	White	Percent	Spanish-American	Percent
2.0 to 2.9.....	43	8	34	14	8	2	1	1
3.0 to 3.9.....	70	13	53	21	15	5	1	1
4.0 to 4.9.....	100	18	59	19	45	17	1	1
5.0 to 5.9.....	122	22	50	19	64	24	6	7
6.0 to 6.9.....	76	14	36	14	40	15		
7.0 to 7.9.....	56	10	21	8	34	13		
8.0 to 8.9.....	28	5	5	2	23	8		
9.0 to 9.9.....	19	3	4	2	15	5		
10.0 to 10.9.....	12	2	3	1	9	3		
11.0 to 11.9.....	10	2	2	1	7	3		
12.0 to 12.9.....	11	2	0		11	4		
Total.....	548		258		271		9	

Number each grade level

Hour, race	2.0 to 2.9	3.0 to 3.9	4.0 to 4.9	5.0 to 5.9	6.0 to 6.9	7.0 to 7.9	8.0 to 8.9	9.0 to 9.9	10.0 to 10.9	11.0 to 11.9	12.0 to 12.9	Total
1-hour.....	9	17	21	23	15	13	5	5	3	3	2	116
Black.....	7	13	11	12	9	3	2		1			58
White.....	1	3	9	9	6	10	3	5	2	3	2	53
Spanish-American.....	1	1	1	1								4
2-hour.....	7	13	22	24	20	14	6	3	4	1	1	115
Black.....	5	11	10	12	14	12	2		1	1		68
White.....	2	2	11	19	6	2	6	1	3		1	53
Spanish-American.....				2								2
3-hour.....	8	22	25	26	11	13	4	3	1	5	2	120
Black.....	7	15	11	10	5	2				1		51
White.....	1	7	11	15	6	10	4	3	1	3	2	63
Spanish-American.....				2								2
4-hour.....	10	10	14	26	15	11	9	4	2		5	106
Black.....	9	7	10	15	3	4		2				50
White.....	1	3	4	11	12	7	9	2	2		5	56
Spanish-American.....				23	15	5	4	4	2	1	1	90
5-hour.....	9	8	18	11	5		3		1			40
Black.....	6	7	7	10	5		1		1	1	1	46
White.....	3	1	10	1	10	5	4					2
Spanish-American.....				2								

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JEFFERSON JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL READING SCORES, 1971—Continued

Schools	Reading comparable grade levels									
	2 to 4.9					5 to 7.9				
	Black	Per-cent	White	Per-cent	Spanish Amer.	Black	Per-cent	White	Per-cent	Spanish Amer.
Alcott			2	12				11	69	
Bagley	32	68				15	32			
Baldwin			11	34				18	56	
Bethune	25	59				17	40	1	2	
Central										1
Crofoot	18	72	3	19		7	28	9	56	
Emerson					1	5		1		
Franklin	14	37				18	47			1
Irving								7	78	
Owen			4	27	1			5	33	1
McCarroll								3	25	
Webster	2	40	10	20				21	43	
Whitfield			8	17		2		22	48	20
Whitman			3	30	4	2		7	70	1
Whittier	38	64			1	16	27	1		
Wisner			16	67		1		8	33	1
Longfellow								3		
Frost								1		
McConnell	3									
Mark Twain						1				
Wilson						1				
Parochial			2	25				3	38	
Other schools						1				
Out of State	3	50	2	33		3	5	1	17	1
Total										

Schools	Reading comparable grade levels									
	8 to 10.9					11 to 12.9				
	Black	Per-cent	White	Per-cent	Spanish-American	Black	Per-cent	White	Per-cent	Spanish-American
Alcott			3	19						
Baldwin			3	9						
Crofoot			3	19				1	9	
Emerson								1	50	
Franklin						6	16			
Irving			1	11				1	11	
Owen			6	40						
McCarroll			6	50				3	25	
Webster	2	40	10	20		1	20	8	16	
Whitfield			12	26		1	2	4		
Whittier	4	7						1	2	
Frost	1									
Parochial			2	25				1	13	
Total										

School	Black	White	Spanish American	School	Black	White	Spanish American
Alcott		16		Whitman	2	10	5
Bagley	47			Whittier	59	1	1
Baldwin		32		Wisner	1	24	1
Bethune	42	1		Longfellow		3	
Central			1	McConnell	3		
Crofoot	25	16		Frost	1	1	
Emerson		2	1	Mark Twain	1	1	
Franklin	28	1		Wilson	1		
Irving		9		Parochial		8	
Owen		15	2	Other schools	1		
McCarroll		12		Out of State	6	3	1
Webster	5	49		Total	235	250	12
Whitfield	3	46					

FROM IRENE McCABE

[From the Pontiac Press, Oct. 22, 1971]

NAG RELEASES ITS LIST OF SCHOOL INCIDENTS

(Editor's Note.—Irene McCabe, leader of the Pontiac-based National Action Group (NAG) yesterday released to the Press a list of alleged school-related

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incidents of violence which the antibusing organization has sent to Pontiac Schools Supt. Dana P. Whitmer. All information contained in the list was gathered by NAG. The list and its accompanying letter follows.)

DANA P. WHITMER,
Superintendent of Schools,
Pontiac, Mich.

DEAR MR. WHITMER: Enclosed please find list of 117 school related incidents, which were compiled by the National Action Group from September 7, 1971 to date. This does not include incidents on buses, which will be submitted to you at a later date. The 183 incidents that you have been waiting for from Mrs. Irene McCabe, which you stated publicly, consisted of 162 school related incidents from Pontiac Police, (which now totals 258), and 21 written incidents from parents.

There is no possible way to keep an accurate account of all the violence that has occurred in the schools. We do not have all the incidents, which neither you, the Pontiac Press or Pontiac Police have.

We took a list of the incidents that we could find as reported in the Pontiac Press from September 7, 1971 to date and came up with a total of 203. Since we do not possess all the clippings from the Pontiac Press, this is below the actual total reported by them.

The Pontiac Police report, from September 7, 1971 through October 15, 1971, showed there were 258 school related offenses. Copy is enclosed.

Teachers are unable to control or discipline their classes in the elementary schools.

Numerous fights occur each day in the playgrounds.

White children have been spit on, poked with pencils and pins in the back, gum in hair and pulled, slapped and bit for no reason. This occurs daily inside and outside the schools.

Bathroom incidents in the elementary schools are not as violent as the junior and senior high schools, however, destruction of supplies and equipment is high, and trash cans have been set fire to.

Children have been beat up and the incidents have been reported to the Principal of the school, but little if anything has been done. One particular example of this is LeBaron Elementary School.

Future reports of this nature will be submitted to you as they are compiled on a regular basis.

We demand your immediate and strict attention concerning the violence in our schools.

Sincerely,

IRENE McCABE,
DARLENE SNOVER,
RUTH FOSMOEN,
NORMA J. LOGAN.

WHITMER TO STUDY LIST

By Dana P. Whitmer

Pontiac School Supt. Dana P. Whitmer acknowledged receipt of NAG's list of alleged incidents of violence in the schools.

At the school board meeting last night, Whitmer said he was given the list yesterday afternoon, but had not had a chance to study it.

"My intention is to investigate as completely as possible every incident on the list," Whitmer commented.

He pointed out that the task may be difficult since most of the reports are not dated. "But we'll do our best to follow through on every one of them," he continued.

Whitmer cautioned, however, that the majority of the complaints had not been investigated by police. "The reports are just what somebody says occurred." He indicated it may be difficult to establish exactly what happened in such alleged incident.

A handwritten list of incidents was presented to the school board at a meeting two weeks ago. Minutes later, Mrs. Irene McCabe, spokesman for NAG, took the list back. She said she took the list to get copies made.

NAG said the list given to Whitmer yesterday was a combination of incidents reported to NAG headquarters by parents and those in which police reports were made.

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Name and school investigated	Grade	Incident	Reported to school and/or police
Bailey, Boone, Northern High School	10	Pinched, pushed around, and trouble in restroom.	Yes
Burkett, Gerald, Kennedy Junior High	7	Kicked in class and hall for no reason	Yes
Beaty, Gary, Madison Junior High	9	Threatened. Hit in stomach and money taken.	Yes
Burtch, Ronald, Malkim Elementary	2	Lunch money threat	Yes
Chisolm, Marion, Kennedy Junior High	9	Beat up	Yes
Chisolm, Marion, Malkim Elementary	6	Clothes torn off John and Bonnie	Yes
Do	4	do	Yes
Do	6	Opie Peoples drew knife on John. Carried knife because mother told him.	Yes
Drake, Barbara, Madison Junior High	8	Obscene threats by telephone	?
Embry, Bluford, Kennedy Junior High	7	Threatened and lunch money taken	?
Hanna, C., Washington Junior High	7	Rape threat	
Holler, Fred, Central High School	10	Hit in face for no reason	Yes
Locke, Roy, Northern High School	10	Beat up in restroom	
Mason, Elva, Northern High School	12	Brain concussion	Yes
Emory, D., Northern	12	Dollar grabbed out of hand in lunch line by black boy.	No
McCarrick, Letha, Washington Junior High	8	Not allowed in washroom	?
Peckham, Harry, Owen Elementary	3	Trouble on playground	Yes
Perryman, Billy, Madison Junior High	7	Threatened, stole lunch money, and hit her	Yes
Powers, Maury, Washington Junior High	8	Assaulted	
Pridmore, Charles, Lincoln Junior High	9	Harassed, obscene language, and followed	
Reiche, Paul, Kennedy Junior High	9	Obscene language, physically abused	Yes
Reiche, Paul, Willis Elementary	5	Attacked with chain belt	Yes
Salmons, James, Alcott Elementary	1	Hit hard in back, wind knocked out while reaching in locker.	Yes
Sample, Thurman, Northern High School	11	Pushed down and hit in stomach, back, and legs.	Yes
Sample, Thurman, Kennedy Junior High	9	Kicked buttocks and back for 3 days no reason.	Yes
Sample, Thurman, Willis Elementary	6	Attacked on playground and hit; school called—come get child.	Yes
Do	5	Pulled hair, twisted neck, and slapped face until state of shock.	Yes
Van Horn, R., Kennedy Junior High	9	Threatened	
Traweck, Albert, Kennedy Junior High	9	Jumped on by 10 blacks, beat up, and hurt	Yes
VanRiper, John, Washington Junior High	8	Continual abuse and chased	Yes
Wier, Kathy, Wisner Elementary	6	Threatened rape	Yes
Wier, Henry, Wisner Elementary	4	Pushed and harassed, came home because of fear.	
Wittfang, Erio, Lincoln Junior High	9	Slugged in eye	Yes
Drake, Thomas, Madison Junior High	7	Tried to take locker lock. Lunch taken from him.	Yes
McLaughlin, S., Northern High School	10	Attempted stab with compass	Yes
Harden, Michael, Bethune Elementary		Shot with pellet gun	
Wells, Lewis, Crofoot Elementary	3	Hit in eye after surgery by 5 blacks, pushed and ball taken.	Yes
Oard, Tim, Kennedy Junior High	9	Choked and bruises by black. Blacks classes suspended 1 day.	Yes
Drake, T. (son of J.), LeBaron Elementary	3	Refused to give up lunch to black was beat up.	Yes
McManus, Bruce, Wilson Elementary	5	Rammed in blackboard. Bus stoned. Sexually molested.	Yes
McManus, Ronnie, LeBaron Elementary	2	Kicked in head while sitting eating lunch	Yes
Fitzgerald, Richard, LeBaron Elementary	2	Spit on and in lunch. Jabbed in arm with knife; told father said he could stab any white kid he wanted.	
Maynard, Eldon, LeBaron Elementary	3	Pushed around. Beat up. Bit on arm.	Yes
Lesimer, Randy, Whittier	4	3 blacks beat him up in laboratory and was threatened not to tell.	Yes
Leismer, Russell, Central High School	10	Hit at school. Beat up on Huron St. Ambulance to hospital.	Yes
Arnold, Brenda and Kenneth, Madison Junior High	7	Knocked down and lunch money taken by 16 blacks.	Yes
Burnett, Brenda, Northern High School	10	Stabbed with Afro comb	Yes
Arnett, Sheila, Northern High School	10	Beat up in class by several blacks	Yes
McConnell, Carl, Kennedy Junior High	9	Threatened	Yes
Arrette, Judy, Madison Junior High	7	Harassed, threatened and jabbed with pencil.	Yes
Arrette, Deborah, Kennedy Junior High	7	Beat up in laboratory by blacks. Black eye, face numb. Doctor said nerve was pushed into cheekbone. Still medical care.	Yes
Waynick, L. (son: Ray Baker), Lincoln Junior High	9	Beat up by 4 blacks	Yes
Largent, Tom, LeBaron Elementary	1	Tried to take milk at lunch. Pushed and beat on playground.	Yes
Wallace, John, Kennedy Junior High	9	Daughter beaten in washroom by 6 blacks	Yes
Reynolds, B., Kennedy Junior High	9	Beat up	Yes
Van Kleek, Charles, Madison Junior High	(1)	Head injury	Yes
Shepherd, Charles, Kennedy Junior High	9	Beat up and marked	Yes

Name and school investigated	Grade	Incident	Reported to school and/or police
XXXXX, Harold, Wever Elementary	4	Attacked and beat up when teacher left room.	Yes
Davis, George, Lincoln Junior High	9	Struck in face and back while entering classroom.	Yes
XXXX, Ernest, Kennedy Junior High	(1)	Attacked for pen, hit and shirt torn.	Yes
Deshosiers, B. Kennedy Junior High	9	Molested in halls. Poked in breast and body with pencil. Struck on legs.	Yes
XXXXX, Valerie, Whitman Elementary	5	Kicked and jabbed with pencils.	Yes
Corheen, E. Wisner Elementary	6	On bus-smeared rubber cement in hair and struck in face.	Yes
Smith, Gale, Lincoln Junior High	9	Attacked in parking lot for money. Knocked down and beat up.	Yes
Stone, Korey, Lincoln Junior High	9	Demand for money placed on window sill 2d story. Teacher came and stopped it.	Yes
Adden, Vernon, Lincoln Junior High	9	Jumped by 3 white boys—beat and pushed in locker.	Yes
Elliott, Steve, Lincoln Junior High	9	Stabbed in ear.	Yes
Prieto, Chris, Central High School	11	Facial cuts.	Yes
Lemos, Alice, Lincoln Junior High	9	Struck in chest by object.	Yes
Baldwin, James, Central High School	12	Facial abrasions.	Yes
Webster, Daryl, Central High School	10	Head cuts.	Yes
Hess, Richard, Central High School	10	Facial abrasions.	Yes
Hawley, Tim, Northern High School	11	Jabbed in forehead—Afro comb.	Yes
Morris, Lorraine, Northern High School	10	Cut with knife.	Yes
Matthews, Walter, Baldwin Elementary	6	Struck on head with rock.	Yes
Dodson, Harry, Jefferson Junior High	7	Punched in eye for money.	Yes
Warnick, Lucinda, Northern High School	12	Beat up by 5 black girls.	Yes
Vankleek, Edith, Madison Junior High	7	Beat up as got off bus at Eastern.	Yes
Stoner, Mike, Eastern High School	8	Beat up by black.	Yes
Featherstone, Steve, Wilson Elementary	5	Beat up by several blacks.	Yes
Burnett, Breida, Northern High School	10	Stabbed with Afro comb.	Yes
Estes, Troy, Alcott Elementary	2	Hit on head with purse containing rock. Blood clot on skull.	Yes
Roycraft, Georgia, Central High School	12	Stabbed from behind in shoulder and between shoulders by black.	Yes
Curran, Sauna, Eastern Junior High	8	Attacked in class by 2 black girls.	Yes
Tucker, Mona, Northern High School	11	Knife threat.	Yes
Caulk, Helen, Wilson Elementary	5	Threatened to kill and harass at bus.	Yes

These incidents listed are ones whom the parents did not wish their names to be released and ones we could not contact:

Girl, Weaver Elementary	3	Searched and pushed by 3 black girls.	Yes
Boy, Kennedy Junior High	9	Jumped by 20 blacks: He and another boy treated at hospital.	Yes
Boy, Central High School	10	Jumped by 3 blacks.	
Girl, Lincoln Junior High	9	Obscene talk and slapped on rear.	Yes
Boy, Kennedy Junior High	9	Jumped on by 4 blacks.	Yes
Girl, Bagley Elementary	5	Glasses thrown off bus.	
Boy, Lincoln Junior High	9	Attacked, escaped through window.	
Boy, Madison Junior High	7	Lunch money taken.	
Girl, Kennedy Junior High	9	do.	Yes
Boy, Eastern Junior High	8	Threatened and harass.	Yes
Boy, Northern High School	10	Knife pulled.	Yes
Boy, Emerson Elementary	4	Threatened and knife pulled.	Yes
Girl, Northern High School	12	Shoved and tripped.	
Boy, Washington Junior High	8	Beat on in lavatory and lunch money taken.	
Boy, Northern High School	10	Beat up.	Yes
Girl, Madison Junior High	7	Threatened and jabbed.	Yes
Girl, Weaver Elementary	6	Attacked and clothes torn.	Yes
Girl, LeBaron Elementary	4	Slapped and lunch taken.	Yes
Girl, Wisner Elementary	4	Pulled hair, poked pencil, spit on, and called names.	Yes
Boy, Whitman Elementary	6	Threatened and harassed.	
Girl, Wisner Elementary	5	Choked by 2 blacks.	Yes
Boy, Bagley Elementary	5	Beat up, bruises and cuts.	Yes
Girl, Kennedy Junior High	(1)	Backed against fence and sexually molested.	Yes
Boy, Wilson Elementary	5	Beat up.	Yes
Boy, Central Elementary	6	Beat up and threatened.	Yes
Boy, Lincoln Junior High	9	Beat up and locker broke into.	Yes
Do	9	Leg injured.	Yes
Girl, LeBaron Elementary	3	Slapped in face and dress torn.	Yes
Girl, Bethune Elementary	5	Pushed through window.	Yes
Girl, Washington Junior High	8	Harassed and gum hair and crown.	Yes
Boy, Lincoln Junior High	9	Beat up and shoved around.	Yes
Girl, LeBaron Elementary	4	Lunch taken away.	Yes
Girl, Bagley Elementary	5	Beat up and molested.	Yes
Girl, LeBaron Elementary	3	Pulled off playground equipment and clothes torn.	Yes
Boy, Whittier Elementary	4	Beat up.	Yes

¹ Special education.

Note: Parents wanted incidents reported but names omitted for fear of harassment.

Appendix 6
MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES AND REPORTS

TRANSCRIPT OF THE DAVID FROST SHOW

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.,
New York, N.Y.

For The David Frost Show, Group W Productions, Westinghouse Broadcasting Co.
Station WNEW-TV, New York, and other stations nationally.

INTERVIEW WITH MRS. MURRAY JOHNSON AND MRS. IRENE McCABE

DAVID FROST. Right now in the proceedings, we'd like to welcome—we're going to turn first of all to that burning issue of busing, busing in America. And a lot of the publicity has focussed on Pontiac, Michigan, on the whole subject of busing following the burning of those school—destroying of those school buses. And the debate is continued there. And with us, two leading members of that debate, one or two more in the audience too. Will you welcome Mrs. Murray Johnson and Mrs. Irene McCabe. [Music, applause.]

Welcome. Come and take a seat. Welcome. Come and take a seat. Forgive me. Would you take the middle one because I have my microphone here, but you need that microphone there. Welcome. It's very good to have you both with us. Let me start with you, Mrs. McCabe. How much—will you give us a résumé of what you've been doing on this whole issue of busing in the last month?

IRENE McCABE. I've been involved in an organization of anti-busing people in the city of Pontiac and the suburbs also. We have formed an organization called NAG. It stands for the National Action Group, and our sole purpose is to work toward a Constitutional amendment which would absolutely prohibit the busing of school children for the sole purpose of achieving racial integration.

FROST. And how far have you got with that?

McCABE. I think we're doing quite well. I've been to Texas to a convention of fourteen states that have already formulated groups, anti-busing groups, groups dedicated to saving the neighborhood school concept. And we are in the process of planning a national convention.

FROST. What have you done in Pontiac?

McCABE. In Pontiac we're boycotting the schools. Is this the type of thing you want to know?

FROST. Yes, the people at home who haven't heard all that you've been doing, we want to hear.

McCABE. Okay. First of all, we retained legal counsel. We have retained three marvelous lawyers, and we have two lawsuits instituted, one in the circuit court and one in federal court. And at the same time we're working toward a Constitutional amendment. We're working within the law at all times. We plan on going back to the neighborhood school concept within the framework of the law.

FROST. And how successful has your boycott been?

McCABE. It's been extremely successful. In fact, I believe the count before I left Michigan—there are 23,000 youngsters in the school system, and there was an absenteeism of 10,000 on—if this is Friday, that would have been Wednesday.

FROST. What percentage is that?

McCABE. Well, this is about 40 percent.

FROST. In other words, you are saying that only 60 percent are attending school.

McCABE. Yes.

FROST. And which day are you saying that was?

McCABE. Friday. No, no . . .

FROST. We're taping this on Friday.

(10025)

McCABE. Okay, this would have been Wednesday. This would have been Wednesday. I've traveled around so much that I'm losing track of time, but this is Wednesday. I mean, it would have been Wednesday.

FROST. Your boycott is losing ground fast, because John Purdy's office at the Board of Education said that yesterday the attendance was over 83 percent. So you lost 25 percent between Wednesday and Thursday.

McCABE. This is attendance or enrollment?

FROST. This was his figure of how successful the boycott was.

McCABE. For enrollment, not attendance.

FROST. Eight-three percent was his figure, anyway.

McCABE. For enrollment. There is a difference.

FROST. I know there is a difference, but that was his figure which he gave us which covered both, he said.

McCABE. When I go back to Pontiac, I'll check that.

FROST. Well, why don't we check it now because if I'm wrong or if those figures are wrong we'll—if John's backstage, would you check that out? I think it was 83 percent attendance, he said. That was the figure I was given. But let's check that because that's incredibly different than your 60 percent figure for Wednesday, so we should know whether that's correct information or not.

Mrs. JOHNSON—we'd like to know either way, whichever—Mrs. JOHNSON, would you like to respond at this point?

Mrs. MURRAY JOHNSON. Yes, I'd like very much to respond on the attendance. Before I left Pontiac on Thursday, I checked with Mr. Lacey, the assistant superintendent of schools, and we had 19,800 students in the class as of Wednesday, and you're always a day late. I didn't get the figures for Thursday.

FROST. So that's 19,000 out of 23,000, which is not 10,000; that's about 4,000. And that's the figure for Wednesday as well.

JOHNSON. That was the figure for Wednesday.

FROST. Well, we'll get the authority figure. That would fit in with mine, but we'll get the authority figure in a minute. Carry on, Mrs. JOHNSON. What have you been doing in response to Mrs. McCabe?

JOHNSON. What I am doing is to try to see that it works. We live in a city of 85,000 people, and I don't see any reason why a town that small—why we cannot make it work. In the black community it is working beautiful. We haven't had any problems in the schools. The children are getting along, the black and white children are playing very well together. In the community where Mrs. McCabe and her organization that has been picketing the schools, we have had some problems. Like, we had some problems with her organization, like, you know, stoning the buses, rocking the buses. We had one bus to go into a grade school that had to be turned around and sent back to the home school with, you know, adults—can you imagine, adults doing this to little children, you know, like fourth- and fifth- and sixth-grade students. We had some parents who blocked the buses. We had little children that they had left off on the side of the street, and they were fighting with all the jeers and signs like "Nigger go home" and Ku Klux Klan signs, state's rights signs, Wallace signs, and that is the type of thing that the younger children have to go through with. But as far as let's make it work and let's pull our city together and let's pull all our resources, you know, and make a good city—and that is my total concern. My second concern is that we did not get adequate police protection. The police did not give us the support to see that the buses, you know, should enter into the respective buildings. We had to appeal to the Governor to send in the state troopers and the sheriff's department. And since the sheriff's department and the troopers has been into the city, the buses have been loading freely.

FROST. That is clearly the basic question you've raised there in this whole thing. Is what you're doing which is obviously fanning flames that seem to be dying out, is it actually helping the children, what you're doing?

McCABE. Absolutely. If we do not teach our children to do everything they can about an unjust edict—now, this is not a law—then we are not parents. We are not Americans. I feel by accepting such an unfair judicial edict . . .

FROST. What do you mean "unfair"?

McCABE. Unfair. I mean just that. Now, just remember, this suit was instituted by the NAACP against the school board on behalf of three black youngsters or parents. The case was heard by a judge who is a member of the NAACP. We have on our school board a man, a school board member, who is a member of the NAACP and also a member of the law firm that represented the plain-

tiffs in this case. Consequently, I don't see how we had any chance for a fair trial.

FROST. Now at the same time, relatively few members of the Supreme Court who confirmed the ruling on busing recently are members of the NAACP, are they?

McCABE. I would think, probably—I really don't know. At the district level we were found guilty of de jure segregation, of which we are not guilty. Pontiac may have de facto segregation, which is simply brought on because of the housing pattern. Okay? You understand that? We do not have de jure segregation. I was born in Pontiac 36 years ago. I went through the Pontiac school system, no private or parochial school, and it was a totally integrated school system at that time, as it is now. Consequently—you know, Pontiac is not guilty of what Judge Damon Keith found it guilty.

FROST. Mrs. Johnson.

JOHNSON. Yes, I would like to respond to that. The first thing, Mrs. McCabe, you have to remember, when Mr. Keith, the case was brought in front of his court, his first statement is, "I would like to disqualify myself because I am a member of the NAACP." Your school board attorney said, "No, you don't have to disqualify yourself." So he ruled that we do not have de facto segregation in Pontiac. We have—it has been proven that twelve times the Board gerrymandered the school boundary lines in order to keep black and white children from going together to school, to integrate the school. Plus your board, your friends appealed to the Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati, and they ruled that Mr. Keith was right. Busing was not Mr. Keith's ruling. Mr. Keith's ruling was to the Board to bring me in a pattern where we can have a racial balance in the school. He has never one time said busing. Your school board is the one that initialed (?) the buses so that you could have a racial balance. You must also realize we also have at least four thousand students bused into Pontiac every day. I have never heard you or your group say anything about . . .

McCABE. No, because this is busing of choice.

JOHNSON. This is not busing of choice. They bus them past black schools on their way to white schools so if they intended to do the thing that was right . . .

McCABE. . . . point me out one such example, one such example.

JOHNSON. . . . should have been going to Franklin school or Whittier school. It's closer . . .

McCABE. And the gerrymandering affected the north side of town, my side of town, to keep them from busing. The gerrymander . . .

JOHNSON. No, it did not . . .

McCABE. I suggest you read the testimony.

JOHNSON. You haven't read a thing. You're just going on a tangent because you have no concept . . .

McCABE. I have read the testimony. I made sure that I read it before I came up here with you.

JOHNSON. . . . You are just like that racist police department we have that you . . .

McCABE. Do you know what I call Mr. Hatchett? Do you know what I say to people who say racist?

JOHNSON. I'm not concerned about what you call Mr. Hatchett. What do you call Mr. Mangan (?), your chief of police? What do you call him?

McCABE. I feel that the sun rises and sets on his head, and if you'll do a little bit of reading you will agree. That's right.

JOHNSON. . . . and that's what's the problem with the city of Pontiac. You got people like you . . .

McCABE. He who shouts "racist" the loudest is the biggest one. Now, do you have any other questions you would like to ask me?

JOHNSON. No, but you didn't answer my question.

FROST. We'll come back. We're going to take a break there. [laughter.] One or two of those . . . [applause.]

* * * * *

FROST. Welcome back. You just missed Mrs. McCabe. Mrs. McCabe is now demonstrating her T-shirt there, what? Has just revealed it to the waiting world. There's an appeal from members of the audience who want—"Bus Judges, Not Our Children". Have we got any other—in fact, we've got three or four other people from Pontiac here in our audience, have we? Could you put your hands up? What do each of you feel? Mrs. Snover, is it, in the front row?

You were in fact one of the nine people accused—in fact, you spent a night in jail. Could you tell us what you've done in connection with this busing?

Mrs. SNOVER. Well, as you said, I spent a night in jail. We—me and a few of my friends . . .

FROST. Sorry. Could you . . .

SNOVER. Me and a few of my friends chained ourselves to the buses on opening day of school. We knew it was—we knew we were breaking the law and that we would be arrested. We knew we wouldn't stop the buses. We wanted to draw attention to our problem in Pontiac.

FROST. And are you keeping a child at home at the moment, in fact?

SNOVER. No, I'm not.

FROST. You're not. Who else is there from Pontiac in our audience? I'm sorry, I didn't see you when you put—what are your feelings on this? Could you introduce yourself and . . .

CAROL SWEENEY. My name is Carol Sweeney (?). I'm just enjoying this whole thing, I think, in Pontiac because this is the same group, when black people were demonstrating they were screaming "Law and order." And they have done everything they could to avoid obeying the law, including calling law "judicial edict" rather than law. This is the same group that screams about freedom of choice. We want our choice to go to the school that we want to. And yet this is the same group that blocked buses and would not let white students out of their home school to get to black schools and would not let black students into the white schools so that in fact they were denying the parents who made the choice to put their children on the buses freedom of choice. [Applause.]

FROST. Mrs. McCabe has added to her costume a little further here [laughter] with another sign saying, "Support your local police. Keep them independent."

[Mrs. Johnson makes inaudible remarks. Applause.]

McCABE. They spend most of their time supporting you, not me.

JOHNSON. I wonder why Mrs. McCabe hasn't brought out her KKK sign and put that up in front of her. [Laughter, applause.]

McCABE. . . . KKK sign. Where is your Black Panther . . .

JOHNSON. You are a member. They were supporting you at the bus . . .

McCABE. Oh, you better be careful. We . . .

JOHNSON. No, I don't have to be careful because when the buses was blocked and the FBI arrested the men that bombed the bus, there was one of the men of your group that was at the bus depot that first day . . .

McCABE. That is one damn lie, and you know it. They are not a member of the National Action Group. (BOOS)

JOHNSON. It will be proven in the court.

FROST. Let's go over that again. You're saying that one of the men . . .

JOHNSON. One of the men that was indicted by the FBI for bombing the buses the first day that the school buses was to leave from the depot, he was there, and he was arrested.

FROST. He was one of those indicted, and this man was what?

JOHNSON. He was working—picketing with the National Action Group, and he's a member.

FROST. One of the men indicted was also picketing with the National Action Group.

JOHNSON. Right. And he was a KKK member. And he blew up buses that little children . . .

FROST. But that doesn't make Mrs. McCabe a member.

JOHNSON. I didn't say she was a member, but she's not a member of the police department either. She has that kind of support from the local police, well, why not wear one of those too? [Laughter.]

FROST. I see.

McCABE. Why don't you follow it up and say that does not necessarily make him a member of NAG, and then ask me a question, because when the city got quite tense, I got on the microphones and I said, "NAG members, go home. Leave the bus depot and the school," because I could see that some of the radical groups had attached themselves to NAG because they haven't got the guts on their own to do anything within the law. So all of the NAG members went home and stopped the busing. Now, what other people have done—I also said that I would cut off, cut those people off from our organization just as I would cut off a gangrenous finger to save the whole. We have always maintained that we would work within the law, because we do uphold the law at all times, and

we are not affiliated in any way with any of the radical groups, which is more than I can say with the person sitting next to me. [Noises of indignation]

JOHNSON . . . any group that I belong to that is radical. One of the things I'd like to say, Mrs. McCabe, is you say you believe in working within the law. Why are you blocking buses? Why are you picketing so little children cannot go to school and get an education? [Applause.]

McCABE. Oh, come on, now. We are not picketing. My nine friends blocked buses one morning to dramatize a point. They knew full well they would be arrested and have to pay the penalty. They just wanted to prove a point. From that time on, no one has been blocking buses, and the only violence that goes on in the schools around town is in the schools, and it is violence brought on by the colored children upon the white children. [Noises of indignation.] Oh, yes it is.

JOHNSON. Oh, Mrs. McCabe is lying. [Laughter, applause]

McCABE. Where have you looked for the evidence? Where have you looked? Because if you've looked at the police station, I'll furnish it for you.

JOHNSON. You don't have to furnish it. I'm in and out of the schools every day. We have monitors who are parents, black and white, in the building. We know everything that is . . .

McCABE. This is why we have the violence in the schools, because you're in there every day. Stay home.

JOHNSON. We are dedicated to see that it works.

FROST. You want it to work.

JOHNSON. We want it to work. We have whites and blacks that want it to work. We have the clergymen, the concerned clergymen who are out to see that it works. The only people that don't want it to work is 30 police officers that are sworn to uphold the law, that gave NAG a check for \$300 to help you people break the law.

McCABE. Since when don't police officers have the right to their—since when don't police officers have a right to freedom of choice.

JOHNSON. The choice of breaking the law?

McCABE. Now, what law did they break? They stood there and protected you so many times . . .

JOHNSON. . . . they didn't protect me.

McCABE. They spend all of their time . . .

JOHNSON. They were marching with you. Your own police department, some of them was marching with you.

McCABE. Oh, now, come on. Our chief of police sat down the other night and spent two hours telling you exactly what we could do to stop the violence in Pontiac, and what did you do but for six hours harrass him and ask for his head?

JOHNSON. Now, you're just lying, Mrs. McCabe, because you only say that by the hour, you only say that by the hour because you could not stand to hear the truth from the concerned people in Pontiac that is trying to pull the city together . . .

McCABE. How long have you been concerned?

JOHNSON. For a number of years.

McCABE. How long? How long have you been in Pontiac? How long have you been in Pontiac?

JOHNSON. I have been in Pontiac 31 years, and the 31 years I have been there I have been a part . . .

McCABE. . . . a troublemaker. Nothing but a troublemaker.

JOHNSON. If I was a troublemaker, being black, I would have been arrested by your racist police department. [Applause]

FROST. Just a moment. We'll be right back.

* * * * *

FROST. Welcome back. And first of all, we just got these official figures for today from Pontiac, and that is that 76—today 76 percent of all the children were actually at school today, 76. And 83 percent of all the children are enrolled, and 86 percent of those enrolled are at school today. In other words, Wednesday you said it was 60 percent. It's up to 76 percent actually at school today.

McCABE. That means I better get home and get very busy. [Jeers, catcalls.]

FROST. Why?

McCABE. Because we intend to make a success of the boycott.

FROST. Well, it looks as though it's dying out. You've lost 20 . . .

McCABE. I'll have to get my girls and get back home.
 FROST. Pardon?
 McCABE. I'll have to take my ladies and get back home.
 FROST. Well, I don't understand why you say—when you say you uphold the law . . . [disturbance.]
 McCABE. Absolutely.
 FROST. So sorry. I missed—what?
 VOICE FROM AUDIENCE. Why doesn't she go home?
 VOICE FROM AUDIENCE. Go home.
 FROST. Why doesn't she what?
 VOICE FROM AUDIENCE. Why doesn't she go home? [Shouts.]
 McCABE. You have a very rude audience. [Shouts, boos.] In fact, if you don't hurry up and do something, I'm going to take a picket sign and start picketing. That's what I'm best at. [Noises of indignation.]
 FROST. I don't understand why you—when you say you uphold the law very much except that when you turn to this issue and these various courts and the court in Cincinnati and the Supreme Court, their court orders you don't uphold.
 McCABE. Right. The court orders are not laws. Shall I give you a little . . .
 FROST. No, but if you've . . .
 McCABE. Okay.
 FROST. . . . the court, and the court sends you to jail, that's a kind of law, isn't it?
 McCABE. . . . No, no, no That's a court order. Law of the land is written by Congress, the two houses of Congress. That is law of the land. The judicial body is only to interpret. The legislators have abdicated their duty to the judicial—to the judiciary. Now we have the judges not only interpreting laws but they're writing them. Now I say let's get—and there's not even any place in the Constitution that gives a federal court the right to pass laws. They are only to interpret them. So when this is an act of Congress—the act of Congress will be an amendment to prohibit that.
 JOHNSON. I think Mrs. McCabe is getting a little of her civics mixed up. [Laughter.]
 McCABE. Civics.
 JOHNSON. Because when a law is a law, you abide by the law regardless whether you like the law or not. You know, we all pay taxes, but we do not like to pay taxes, but that is the law, so we pay taxes. And to implement a plan for a racial balance in the school system of the city of Pontiac is the law. And it has been handed down by the judge, and if you are a good citizen you will abide by the law regardless of what the law . . .
 McCABE. I am such a good citizen that I want to see this country going back to being a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.
 JOHNSON. I see that you are taking it much farther away by boycotting. [Disturbance in audience.]
 FROST. I'm sorry?
 [Woman shouts in audience.]
 FROST. The lady in the second row, yes?
 WOMAN. If the majority is so great, why did your forefathers have to leave Greece? Because they were in the majority in Greece.
 McCABE. You know, you don't even make any sense. Restate it so that I can answer you.
 WOMAN. All right, if the majority rules your parents or whoever it was that came from Greece, whoever it was that came from Greece, were in the majority in Greece. But they had to leave because they wasn't getting anywhere.
 McCABE. They had to leave because they wanted to come over here to America, not because they weren't getting anywhere.
 WOMAN. You have the problem that you think . . .
 McCABE. You're not making yourself very clear.
 WOMAN. You think black people are oppressing you. It's not black people that are oppressing you. It is . . .
 McCABE. Nobody is oppressing you. Nobody is oppressing me. Nobody is oppressing me because they've been trying but I won't be oppressed any further.
 FROST. I think we're getting off the point here. The lady next to you is also—are you from Pontiac?
 WOMAN. Yes, I'm a resident.
 FROST. What are your views on this?
 WOMAN. Well, I have a daughter that just entered school this year, and she's being bused, and after careful consideration I could not deny my child's hopes

of going to school, and my daughter is riding a bus, and she's very happy about it. I'm very pleased with the racial makeup of her class, because I've gone to many of Pontiac's schools, and from my personal experience I can definitely say the schools were segregated when I went to those schools, that now—and also, the schools that were predominantly black and Latin had poor facilities. I visited each one of these schools this year, and they've been painted, the windows have been fixed, and they're warm in the rooms. The days when I wore sweaters hopefully will be gone, and I really feel that busing in Pontiac has been successful, and it has been demonstrated, and I personally will not tolerate someone disrupting my child's peace and my neighborhood peace because they cannot have patience to go through the judicial system that incidentally did interpret a law. [Applause.]

MCCABE. What law did it interpret? Which law did it interpret? I have a question for her. Which law did it interpret?

WOMAN. The Constitution of the United States, which you have a terrible habit of repeating the Preamble but apparently have not got into the . . .

MCCABE. . . . bad judicial edict interpret . . .

FROST. She said the Constitution.

MCCABE. No, it did not. It did not.

FROST. Why was that? Why are you saying it did not?

WOMAN. She doesn't know that about which she speaks. The case of Brown [Noises of indignation]—the case of Brown versus Topeka, Kansas in 1954 specifically says [Shouts]—okay, let's talk about cases. Let's talk about education instead of bus riding. Nobody seems to be concerned with an education.

JOHNSON. Education! You would not be trying to stop buses and blocking buses . . .

MCCABE. So what does buses have to do . . .

JOHNSON. . . . children to go into schools to get a decent education. [Applause.]

MCCABE. What does transportation have to do with education? The school on Mrs. Johnson's side of town has superior facilities, superior materials, and everything else, because they are entitled to federal programs, federal monies. Now, if you're talking about education, you would be content to stay there, and if you were any kind of a mother, you would want your child right there by you. Now, because I am a mother and I love my children, I don't want my children going somewhere where they're going to have their heads stuck down into a toilet and the water flushed, or where they're . . .

JOHNSON. Well, maybe any child having a mother like you needs their head stuck down the toilet and the water flushed. [Laughter, applause.]

MCCABE. That is so rotten I wouldn't even respond—I wouldn't lower myself to the level of responding to that. But I did not come all this way—and apparently, if the boycott is, you know, falling apart, they do need me in Pontiac, so I think, Mr. Frost, you know, I didn't expect to listen to this trash.

FROST. Just a minute. This . . .

JOHNSON. Let her go. She uses the word "trash." This shows the type of caliber she is, the type of people that she is dealing with . . .

FROST. Just a second, Mrs. Johnson. I just want to say this. The theme of children with heads put down the toilet I think was introduced by you. [Noises from audience.]

MCCABE. This is in fact the type of violence that goes on . . .

FROST. Listen, we've investigated as far as we could the schools in Pontiac.

MCCABE. Where have you investigated?

FROST. My staff has been out there. I don't claim to know as much as you, certainly, or Mrs. Johnson. But they've investigated, and we get a story from all over the country and from Pontiac too, a story as sensational—perhaps nowhere in the world has there been such a successful racial experiment as in the past month in America. It's an incredible tribute to America, and it's even happening in Pontiac. And is your child helped by being kept at home?

MCCABE. . . . the people of this country are so apathetic and so brainwashed that they will accept something that is so unjust and rotten and detrimental to our youngsters without putting up a fight. Well . . .

FROST. Why is it detrimental? Why is it detrimental?

MCCABE. . . . detrimental to accept socialism. Personally, I believe in the Republic. I believe in the Republic, the government of our forefathers.

FROST. Socialism?

MCCABE. Socialism, Communism, call it what you might.

FROST. Now, wait a minute. Do you call it socialism or Communism? There's a difference.

McCABE. Well, you know, socialism finally gets to Communism. [Shrieks of laughter from audience.]

FROST. When does that happen?

McCABE. You know, when you lose the sight of the Republic, you go into—what?—the democracy, then we have socialism, and then we have Communism. A democracy will always defeat itself. We've gotten so far now from the Republic form of government, a government of three distinct bodies, and it's frightening to me to see this vast—well, vast, this audience, you know, this audience . . .

FROST. Now, wait a minute. I don't see how you see that—I mean, that America's gotten to socialism.

McCABE. You don't see why we had (unclear) in Pontiac, because this is the first community of people who have decided, "Okay, I have appeased, and I have appeased, and I have appeased to the demands of the minority, and we're not going to appease any longer." We are not going to give up something that is ours also. I'm not saying that Mrs. Johnson is not entitled to her rights. I'm saying that I'm entitled to mine just the same. I want my children in the neighborhood school. This is their right. [Applause.]

FROST. But wouldn't your child—you're keeping one of your children at home, are you? And how long will you keep your children at home?

McCABE. Until we rectify the wrong.

FROST. And if you don't rectify what you call the wrong . . .

McCABE. I'll go to jail. [Applause.]

FROST. Then you would break . . .

McCABE. That is not a law. I'll go to jail so that our attorneys can finally get some—find somewhere a judge in this country—there must be one left with a little common sense.

FROST. The thing that gets me about that is that of course if you were talking of something that was causing fantastic damage to children . . .

McCABE. . . fantastic damage—there is violence, injury . . .

FROST. But all the evidence . . .

McCABE. . . the people of Pontiac. Ask them.

FROST. Well, we've asked them.

McCABE. What evidence? Maybe—what credibility can I give to the people who are giving you this evidence? Why didn't you ask me to bring some? I would have brought you police records you wouldn't believe.

JOHNSON. And you wouldn't believe either because, you know, I read the police blotter every day, everything that's documented . . .

McCABE. . . put in the ambulances. I had one policeman . . .

JOHNSON. This woman is lying. There hasn't been an ambulance at a school. There hasn't been a child injured. [Crosstalk, shouting.]

FROST. Just a minute. What did you say?

JOHNSON. There hasn't been a child injured in a school building. There has not been any harm to any of the elementary schools. As you pass by you see black and white children playing together. You see them on the playgrounds, on the slides together. Mrs. McCabe is trying to appeal to a few people with an emotional thing, lying, deliberately lying, talking about . . .

McCABE. . . love your country it's a very emotional thing.

JOHNSON. Kids being hurt in school . . .

McCABE. When you love your children, it's a very emotional thing.

FROST. Yes. Well, look . . .

JOHNSON. If she loves her child, she would not want her children to live in a vacuum.

McCABE. That's why I keep my child at home, because I love my children.

JOHNSON. . . she would like for her children to learn and live and work and get along with other children. [Applause.]

FROST. But I mean, how far, if your child was bused to school, would she have to go? I mean, are we talking of twenty miles, which is one thing, here, or are we talking of a mile?

McCABE. If they said my child was to be bused one block away from the neighborhood school, I would still say no. This is a Constitutional question. It has nothing to do with integration, segregation, racial balance—I don't care what you want to call it. It is my Constitutional right that's at stake, and I will defend it to the end. And when I win, I will also have won for everyone else. It's too bad that people can't wake up now.

FROST. But I mean, I don't understand—I mean, I would understand if you—pardon? A lady in the front row. You haven't had a chance to speak. Yes.

WOMAN. . . . as a question. I have a son . . .

FROST. Can you zoom in a mike? Sorry. Could I ask you to start that sentence again. In fact, look, we're racing through. We'll come back to your question in just one second. Okay? We'll take a break, and we'll come rushing back. We'll be right back to carry this on in just a moment.

* * * * *

FROST. Welcome back. Welcome back. And as we just said a second or two ago, we have a question from a lady, Mrs. Cox from Pontiac, in the front now.

Mrs. Cox. Yes. I'm a Pontiac parent, and my child is being bused. And it just so happens that we moved seven years ago into an area that was integrated, the school system. The school board attempted to change our boundary line, and we had to go down to the board meeting and fight there. And another thing is now that the area has changed, and the children, the white children who are being bused into the east side neighborhood, which is predominantly black, there has been no incident in our grade school level from K through 6, not once. And if our area was so bad, it would seem that we would have had some problems, and I wonder if Mrs. McCabe could answer that particular question. And another question is, Mrs. McCabe, how many of your children are in a parochial school?

McCABE. All right. I'll take the last one first, since that was the easiest one. There are two of my children in parochial schools, and I'd like to tell you why. About two years ago I was invited to speak for the first time at a high school in Pontiac. There is absolutely no discipline whatever. And without any form of discipline or decorum or respect for one another—you know, forget discipline—a little bit of respect—you cannot have an atmosphere conducive to learning. Consequently, they graduate absolutely unable to read and write, idiots. They're total idiots. I don't know how they get out of college, how they get into college. So from that point on I decided that even though I am not Catholic, I would not jeopardize all the years and effort and heartache that I've put into raising my children to put them into a public high school.

Okay, that's number one.

FROST. Now the first part of the question.

McCABE. That's the second part. Now the first part. On the north side of town, where your youngsters from the south side of town are being bused into is where the violence is going on in I will prove to you when we get back to Pontiac, if you like, that in the elementary schools there have been several cases of violence, even at the elementary level. Now I'll prove that when we get back into town.

JOHNSON. Why didn't you bring your proof with you, Mrs. McCabe?

McCABE. I have been much too busy.

FROST. Yeah, because we must remember those statistics you gave us were very wrong. [laughter, shrieks.]

McCABE. No, what we must remember is consider the source from where you got the statistics, and I am going to drop it there, but I don't put any credibility in your source. [Noises of indignation.]

JOHNSON. . . simple administration who is . . .

McCABE. Who is . . .

JOHNSON. I got mine from Mr. Lacey's office who is very much a white man.

McCABE. Whose office did you get your information from?

FROST. We got it, I think, from the school board, from the . . .

McCABE. Office of whom?

FROST. I think it was Mr. Purdy? Oh, from the superintendent of schools.

McCABE. Well, as I mentioned the other day, you know, he does issue tailor-made reports to suit his purposes. [Noises of disbelief.]

[Crosstalk.]

McCABE. Just a minute, just a minute. Have you read the papers lately? You see they're trying to discourage people in the boycott effort. So we decided that we would prove that NAG is not only—we're not waning in power. We're gaining in strength. Have you ever heard of an automotive—no, we're gaining in strength. Have you ever heard of an automotive company being closed down by an outside group? I mean, anybody other than unions? Just like that? Have you ever heard of that being done before? Okay. Just a minute. Let me finish. Wednesday morning Fisher Body and Pontiac Motor were closed down by NAG pickets.

FROST. A gentleman in the second—yes.

MAN. Mr. Frost, being that I'm an outsider—I'm not from Pontiac. I would like to say a few words as an outsider. When you started this, I didn't know too much about it, and I have one statement to make. If there is no trouble, no violence by mixing these children, then if it's near or if it's far, if by bus or if by car, let my children go. [Cheers, applause.]

FROST. And this is—let me just come in there for a second because this is really—that really comes back to the point of no violence and so on. Yes?

WOMAN. I'd like to say something about the closing of Fisher Body. This was the smallest Fisher Body plant of three in the United States, and I would like to finish . . .

FROST. I think closing car plants is kind of irrelevant.

WOMAN. I think this is relevant because that particular day, that particular day when she chose to close down the plant which was a good demonstration of power, she could possibly have cost at least 14,000 people their jobs in Pontiac because GM officials have . . .

JOHNSON. You'd feel awfully small if you woke up and your friends had picketed and Fisher Body said, "We are going to move out of town." I hope you are in a position to support them and their family. [Applause.]

MCCABE. . . . close down Fisher Body . . .

JOHNSON. Fisher body might close down.

MCCABE. Oh, Fisher Body isn't going to close down.

FROST. I must step in here because we're overrunning a little. I think summing up the thing is—and I know you've got to catch a plane back and so on, but I mean, summing up the thing it comes back to the basic point about no violence, and if it's gone, and how it's gone, and how the children are faring, and we found—and this is—you used the word about, earlier on, about how a rotten idea this was, I think it was. And this is a picture we found in the paper. This is a picture in the paper, taken by a photographer. And it's a picture of two children . . .

MCCABE. I object to that picture being shown because instead you should have along with that a picture of three girls whose faces were battered in in a girls' john by colored boys. I object to that . . .

FROST. Now, that's got—[Shouts, boos, catcalls!—as good as your last one? [Cheers, applause] I would love you to bring that. I would love you to bring that in. Your one so-called fact has turned out to be rubbish. This one—we checked our facts. We checked—let me just tell you this. We checked our facts. We thought, "Is this a fair photograph? Is this a true photograph? We'll check it." So we did do this. We did exactly what you were just, in your way, saying. We checked upon this and we found that this particular photograph is a photograph of Robin Brossert, who's the white girl in the picture, and Raoul Lemoyne. And Robin has been bused into the previously all-black Bagley School in Pontiac. And today there are now 160 blacks there and 133 whites. [Applause.] Just a minute. And we spoke with both the girls first. And they said they liked and loved their classmates, their teachers, and they were having a great time getting to know one another. The principal, Mr. William Count, who is black, said that the integration of the school has gone very smoothly and there's been no trouble at all. He said, quote, "It's been beautiful. The discipline is better than ever before. The attitudes are better all over, in the classrooms, the cafeteria, the playground. It's just beautiful." You could have spoken to any of the kids and gotten the same answers as you got from Robin and Paula. And the white parents, he said, have been darling. They've been marvelous.

And that—we checked on that fact, and that's a story. That's not just a picture of two people. That's a story of the experience of 160 black children and 133 whites, and more power to all of them. We'll take a break. [Applause.]

10035

U.S. DISTRICT COURT, EASTERN DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN, SOUTHERN DIVISION

DONALD DAVIS, JR., A MINOR BY HIS MOTHER AND NEXT FRIEND, MRS. SADIE DAVIS,
ET AL, PLAINTIFFS

v.

SCHOOL DISTRICT OF THE CITY OF PONTIAC, INC., ET AL, DEFENDANTS

Civil Action No. 32392

MEMORANDUM OPINION

Plaintiffs in this action, Negro children of the state of Michigan and residents of the City of Pontiac, bring this action, through their next friends and parents pursuant to FRCP 17(c) as a class action as prescribed by FRCP 23(a) and 23(b) (2) (3), against defendants School District of the City of Pontiac, its Superintendent and Assistant Superintendents and the seven members of the Pontiac Board of Education. Plaintiffs complain that defendants individually and in concert have been and are discriminating against them and denying and will continue to deny plaintiffs and the class they represent the right to be educated in the Pontiac School System under the same and equal terms as white minor residents. Plaintiffs further complain that defendants have discriminated in their hiring and assignment policies of teachers and administrators, and have invidiously considered race in assigning personnel to schools. It is the contention of plaintiffs that the above enumerated practices deprive plaintiffs of rights and privileges secured by the equal protection and due process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Jurisdiction of this Court is invoked pursuant to Title 28 U.S.C. § 1331 and 1343 (3) (4); the cause of action is brought pursuant to Title 42 U.S.C. § 1983.

CONTENTION OF PARTIES

It is the contention of plaintiffs in this matter that defendants "have drawn the zone attendance lines for elementary schools which have as their purpose and/or effect the maintenance of separate schools for Negro children" (Plaintiffs' Complaint.) Plaintiffs contend that the elementary, secondary and high schools within the City of Pontiac operate under a system of *de facto* segregation which has resulted from defendants' policy of shifting boundary lines and locating new schools in such a manner as to minimize the prospect of achieving maximum integrated schools. Plaintiffs assert that the racial integration policies adopted by the Pontiac Board of Education have not been pursued in good faith by the administration, but rather that the actual policy of the board has been and is knowingly to permit the existence of segregated facilities when such could have been and could be avoided. Plaintiffs further assert that it was and continues to be the policy of the Board intentionally to place Negro instructional personnel and principals mainly in predominantly Negro schools and, in addition, to limit the number of Negro employees in proportion to the existing demand for personnel in predominantly Negro schools.

It is the position of defendants in this matter that historically the policy of the Board of education has been that all pupils in the school district should attend the school which services the attendance area in which they live i.e., the "neighborhood school concept" without regard to race or color. This policy became expressed and was reaffirmed by a written resolution of the Board of Education on March 10, 1960. It is the contention of the defendants that the criteria for establishing attendance areas includes the nearness of the pupils to the schools, the safety of access routes, and the capacity of the schools. In 1964, an additional factor was added to these criteria, namely that "when possible" the attendance areas would be drawn so as to provide integration of the student bodies, and that integration would be a factor considered in the selection of sites for the location of new schools.

In regard to the faculties of the various schools, the defendants state that under the provisions of the negotiated contract between the Board of Education and the Pontiac Educational Association (which latter organization is exclusive bargaining representative for all teachers in the school district) transfers and changes in teaching assignments are on a voluntary basis whenever possible. In making involuntary assignments and transfers, the convenience and wishes of the individual teacher are to be considered and only after notification to the teacher, and an opportunity for the teacher to be consulted regarding the transfer may an involuntary assignment and transfer be ordered by the Board.

It is the position of defendants that school activities have always been open to all students irrespective of race, color or creed. Defendants contend that true *de facto* segregation exists in certain of the elementary schools in Pontiac but that the defendants are under no Constitutional duty to undo that which it has not caused.

FINDINGS OF FACT AND CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

Findings of fact

The defendants in this action admit that segregation and racial imbalance exists in the Pontiac School System, and that such a situation is directly harmful to the development of those Negro children who suffer thereunder. The Court begins its decision in this matter confronted with the undisputed fact that Negro children are being deprived of quality education in the Pontiac School System and that early deprivation of innocent young children culminates in permanent, devastating, irreparable harm—harm incapable of subsequent correction. Officials of the Pontiac School System admit that these black children are being given an inferior education, psychologically damaging to their self-image and economically damaging to their ability to perform in an adult world. To a child, segregation "reinforces the idea that he is different, separate and inferior" . . . and the cause of that segregation is irrelevant "as it would make no difference whether it be *de jure* or whether it be by circumstance . . . *de facto*". (Mr. Perdue P. 128)¹ the harm remains. And so, we observe a generation of children being injured by an admitted segregated school situation—another generation receiving inferior educations and being deprived of the technical and intellectual skills that will enable them upon graduation to perform in significant positions competently and confidently. No expert need explain that frustrations such as these are often manifested in new forms of both anti-social and self-destructive behavior.

Defendants deny any responsibility for the segregated character of their schools, and argue that they have no affirmative duty to rectify a condition which they neither created nor advanced. It therefore becomes the duty of this Court to sift through the maze of incidents which contributed to the present situation; and, inasmuch as segregation admittedly exists in the school system it must be determined if and where failures or omissions on the part of defendants may have occurred and what, if anything, now can be done to halt the furtherance of an abhorable situation for which no one admits responsibility or wishes to accept the blame. It is neither the Court's intent nor desire to place blame—that belongs to history; it is the Court's obligation and indeed its duty, where the well being of an entire generation of children is admittedly in jeopardy, to ascertain where duty lies, if a breach of same exists or has existed, and if so, what now can be done to correct the situation.

Beginning as early as 1949, the Pontiac Board of Education unanimously recognized and adopted a policy of hiring "without regard to race or color." (See Defendant's Exhibit 8). In 1954, the Board resolved that "specific boundaries shall be established for each school in the Pontiac School District" (Defendants' Exhibit 2) and publicly declared:

"Whereas, the Board of Education of the School District of the City of Pontiac is faced with the need for an extensive program of school building construction in order to adequately provide educational opportunities for the children of this city; and

"Whereas, it has been the practice of the Board of Education of the School District of the City of Pontiac to construct schools in terms of the location of children to be served by those schools irrespective of race, color or creed; and

¹ Mr. John Perdue, Director of School, Community and Human Relations, Pontiac School District.

"Whereas, it seems necessary now to reaffirm publicly this above mentioned policy,

"Therefore, the Board of Education of the School District of the City of Pontiac publicly declares it is the policy of this Board to locate additions to school buildings and new schools on the basis of nearness and accessibility of these facilities to the children to be served irrespective of their race, color or creed." (Defendants exhibit 3.)

In 1955, the Board resolved to:

"Restate and reaffirm its policy to employ, upgrade and assign all applicants for administrative, teaching, secretarial, clerical, maintenance and all other position classifications within the table of organization on merit without regard to race, color, marital status, nationality or religion." (Defendants exhibit 9.)

In 1960, the school attendant policy was again reaffirmed by the Board, wherein it was stated:

"Whereas The School District of the City of Pontiac has maintained as official policy that all pupils shall attend the school which serves the attendance area in which they live and

"Whereas this policy is maintained for all pupils without regard to race, color nationality, or religious affiliation, and

"Whereas it now seems desirable to reaffirm this policy publicly,

"Therefore, The Board of Education of the School District of the City of Pontiac publicly declares that it is the continuing policy that pupils shall attend the school which serves the attendance area in which they live, irrespective of race, color, nationality, or religious affiliation." (Defendants' Exhibit 4.)

On December 9, 1964, the Board of Education once again found it necessary and suitable to adopt a resolution wherein they stated that:

"Under our system of laws, it is the primary responsibility of each community to provide equal educational opportunities for all children in terms of quality instruction, adequacy of facilities and instructional materials, and opportunity for personal fulfillments. The latter can be accomplished to an adequate degree in our democracy only when the policies and practices of the school system place a positive emphasis upon achieving and maintaining a racially integrated school system. Providing this equity in educational opportunities is a part of the process of educational planning, done by cooperative means consistent with the basis educational philosophy of our school district."

Pupil Placement

Pupil placement practices of the school district must be based on sound educational principles, and should provide integrated school populations insofar as this is possible.

The neighborhood school concept is believed to represent sound educational practice. Pupils will be guaranteed the right to attend the school which serves their attendance area as established by action of the Board of Education. The Board of Education recognizes that circumstances arise occasionally wherein shifts in population necessitate the temporary provision of special housing arrangements for pupils.

These may occur in the future, but do not negate the broad principle enunciated here.

The present school attendance areas have been established on the basis of the following criteria: the nearness of the pupils to school, the safety of pupil access routes to school, and the reasonable capacity of the school. At such times as changes in school attendance areas may be required, an additional criterion will be observed. When possible, the boundaries shall be drawn so as to provide integrated student bodies in schools. This added criterion will also receive consideration along with other criteria in the selection of sites for the location of new schools.

Employment and Assignment of Teachers

It is the continuing policy of the Board of Education to employ, upgrade, and assign all applicants for administrative, teaching, secretarial, clerical, maintenance, and all other positions within the table of organization on merit without regard to race, color, marital status, nationality, or religion.

The Board of Education believes it to be desirable that all school pupils should have the opportunity to receive instruction from white and Negro teachers during their years in school. Thus it is desirable to achieve and maintain an equitable distribution of Negro and white teachers in the various schools of the school district.

Teachers are professional persons, and as such have the right to have their views on their placement and assignment considered and respected. Furthermore, it is sound educational practice to assess the specific qualifications of each teacher, the specific needs of each position and, to the degree possible, match the qualifications of the employee to the needs of the position.

It is believed that an equitable distribution of white and Negro teachers, respect for the views of teachers with regard to assignments, and matching professional qualifications with the needs of each position can and should be achieved through appropriate in-service education, encouragement, and administrative effort.

Educational Programs

It is the continuing policy of the Board of Education that educational programs of excellence must be provided

* * * * *
discrimination of Negroes as individuals and a group, and the implications of the civil rights movement. These emphases are essential elements in the instructional program if good inter-group attitudes and understandings are to be developed among all children, and if the Negro child is to develop a good self-image, pride in his race and heritage, and a sense of equality as a human being.

School Facilities

"It is the continuing policy of the Board of Education to provide the best possible school facilities for all schools and all pupils." (Defendants' Exhibit 6).

In 1967, after approximately twenty long years of nothing more than resolutions and policy statements regarding intent to strive for and achieve racial balance, the Board set its sites on the distant future and adopted a "Long Range plan for school improvement and the achievement of an improved racial balance in the Secondary Schools of the School District of the City of Pontiac." With this act, the Board had one more statement of policy; and the Black community had one more written promise.

It is, therefore, apparent that there has been, since 1948, a thorough recognition by the Board of Education for the School District of Pontiac of the need toward achieving racial integration among student bodies, faculties and administrators within the system. Yet, the testimony clearly reveals that in 1954 when boundary lines were first drawn designating school attendance zones, the only criteria employed in determining the zones was nearness of school, safety of access routes and capacity. Despite any pronouncements or resolutions adopted, the testimony clearly reflects that the Board of Education *never* considered achievement of racial balance as a factor in setting the original boundaries. The testimony further indicates without question that ever since the incorporation of this fourth factor in 1964, there has been neither an attempt nor even a consideration toward modification, alteration or realignment of boundaries in light of the 1964 resolution. It follows quite logically then that achievement of racial balance has never been a legitimate factor in the setting of boundary lines. The 1964 pronouncement was made, but resulted in absolutely no realignment of existing boundary lines for the purpose of obtaining greater racial balance.

In addition, between the period of 1955 and 1964 nine new schools were also built without any consideration given toward achieving a racial mixture. The Board admits that schools were located in accord with housing development and, thereby, readily adopted the same segregated pattern; with the addition of each new school, segregation advanced—it became fixed and cemented. By 1964, no restatement or reaffirmation of previous policies, no adoption of new policies, no pronouncement of long range plans, and no realization of admission of segregation's harm to children could eliminate the segregated school pattern.

This Court is convinced, in view of the number of resolutions and policy statements outlined above, that the Board of Education for the Pontiac School District has committed itself to integration within their school system. A careful and thorough reading of the testimony in this matter, coupled with a study of prior, similar litigation regarding this matter (See *Henry v. Godsell* [1958] 165 F. Supp. 87) reveals that these defendants were unquestionably aware, as early as 1954, of the import of their resolutions regarding integration, the goals to be obtained and the affirmative role they had in accomplishing those goals. It therefore becomes the duty of this Court to determine whether or not the Board of Education either implemented or ignored their own stated policies. Pronouncements of

good intentions with nothing more amounts to "monumental hypocrisy". (Senator Ribicoff, February 9, 1970.)

In an attempt to analyze and understand the geography of the school district serving the City of Pontiac as well as the racial composition of that city, this Court has found it necessary and helpful to carefully review the testimony of the witnesses in accompaniment with the charts and exhibits admitted into evidence. This analysis will be limited to the elementary schools within the system as the testimony has demonstrated the pattern of segregation therein most clearly.

The statistics are as follows:

The Pontiac School District incorporates approximately 39 square miles; the City of Pontiac is situated directly within that area and encompasses approximately 20 square miles; there are at present 29 elementary schools located within the district; of this number 17 of those schools are practically speaking, all white; six of those schools are all Black; and six of the schools have an integrated student body; the ratio of *Negroes to whites* within the City of Pontiac is approximately 30% to 70%; since 1954 10 additional elementary schools have been added to the school system; 9 of those schools were added within the period 1954 through 1963; between 1955 and 1969 the School Board has found it necessary to change the zones for boundary of its attendance area 12 times; the testimony reveals that the changes resulted from the addition of new facilities, and were never drawn originally nor modified with isolated purpose of attempting to achieve maximum racial balance within the schools. As mentioned earlier, none of the nine schools built within the period 1955 through 1963 was located with any consideration as to achievement of racial mixture.

The additions of Alcott, Weaver and Lincoln Elementary Schools have created changes in the boundaries of Hawthorne, Owen and Wisner Schools, since 1955. The area and the schools are white.

Toward the more central area of town the additions of Mark Twain and Herrington Schools have created changes in the boundary lines of Baldwin, McCarroll, Emerson, Willis and Longfellow Schools since 1955. Prior to the addition of Twain and Herrington, children from the areas that those new schools presently serve had to travel the distance to the schools previously existing for them. At the time of their construction the new schools mentioned serviced solely white areas and were attended by whites. More recently, both Twain and Herrington have become integrated schools; their existence, however, and strategic locations allow for continued segregation of the surrounding schools of Central, Baldwin, McCarroll, Emerson and Willis Schools. But for the existence of Twain and Herrington Schools, the surrounding schools with their previous boundary lines would find themselves now integrated. Because of the existence of these two newer schools in the vicinity, the remaining schools of the area have been permitted to remain white. There has been no attempt to rearrange boundary lines within the area so as to obtain a greater degree of racial mixture even though the previous boundary lines of the older and still all white schools nearby originally encompassed attendance areas which, if still enforced now, would allow for integration within those schools.

To the South of the business area of the City of Pontiac is found the section of town serviced by Whittier, McConnell, and Wilson Schools. It was the decision of the Board of Education in 1954 to construct the Bethune Elementary School in order to alleviate overcrowding at nearby Bagley. Even though the Webster School to the North of the Bagley School had an overwhelmingly large capacity, the Board of Education decided to erect Bethune School so as to accommodate only the overflow of Bagley. Bethune became all Black. Webster remained all white. There was no school constructed so as to alleviate the needs of both the white Webster School and the Black Bagley School by creating an integrated school somewhere in between the two. Even though other locations appeared at the time to be equally suitable to the location of the new Bethune School, and indeed other locations had been considered by the Board of Education, the school was placed in such a fashion that it was attended solely by Blacks. Bethune School was built in 1955 and became the subject matter of the litigation previously mentioned. (*Henry v. Godsell, Supra.*)

If this Court's attention were directed and limited solely to the location of the Bethune School without being confronted by or concerned with the total pattern which was, at the time, developing in the construction of new schools in the system, the School Board may have succeeded in providing a persuasive argument here, as it did earlier, that the location of the Bethune School could be justified on the grounds of the existing criteria, namely, nearness, capacity

and safety of access routes. However, this Court's consideration is not limited or directed solely to the location of the Bethune School, but has been broadened to take into consideration the composition of the entire Pontiac School System. The prior litigation regarding Bethune School is significant as it indicates the early awareness of the Board of Education that a definite pattern of segregation was developing by their choice of locating schools. Rather than taking affirmative steps to counteract the pattern obviously developing as of 1955, the School Board, to the contrary, by its location of additional schools subsequent to 1955, assured the progression of that segregated pattern.

In 1958 the Franklin School was built so as to alleviate the overcrowding at Whittier and Wilson; Franklin took the complexion of its predecessors, namely Black.

If sufficient evidence had not already been presented to indicate the active role of the School Board in advancing the segregated nature of the School District, attention then need only be directed to location of the Irving School, built in 1959. Originally, the area adjacent to the Bagley School Area was serviced by Whitfield, an all white school. The boundary line between Bagley and Whitfield served to effectively eliminate any possible integration of student bodies within those two schools. As mentioned earlier, the construction of Bethune alleviated any overcrowding at Bagley. Within a very short time after the construction of the new, all Black Bethune School, it became apparent that the nearby all white Whitfield School also was becoming overcrowded. To alleviate that situation without jeopardizing the pale complexion of the school, the Board of Education erected the Irving School. Irving School has a total attendance of 167 students; it is the smallest full elementary school within the Pontiac School system. It has been located in such a fashion as to serve solely whites. It could have been and should have been located otherwise so as to achieve the racial balance for which the Board expressly strived.

This Court finds that the Pontiac Board of Education intentionally utilized the power at their disposal to locate new schools and arrange boundaries in such a way as to perpetuate the pattern of segregation within the City and thereby, deliberately, in contradiction to their announced policies of achieving a racial mixture in the schools, prevented integration. When the power to act is available, failure to take the necessary steps so as to negate or alleviate a situation which is harmful is as wrong as is the taking of affirmative steps to advance that situation. Sins of omission can be as serious as sins of commission. Where a Board of Education has contributed and played a major role in the development and growth of a segregated situation, the Board is guilty of de jure segregation. The fact that such came slowly and surreptitiously rather than by legislative pronouncement makes the situation no less evil.

The Board of Education cannot absolve itself from responsibility for this situation when it had the power, duty, and control to prevent the situation. It would be feigned modesty on the part of any Board of Education to suggest that it is controlled by a situation rather than that it can control. A decision regarding location of new schools is one for the Board as the evidence in this case amply demonstrates. For a school Board to acquiesce in a housing development pattern and then to disclaim liability for the eventual segregated characteristic that such pattern creates in the schools is for the Board to abrogate and ignore all power, control and responsibility. A Board of Education simply cannot permit a segregated situation to come about and then blithely announce that for a Negro student to gain attendance at a given school all he must do is live within the school's attendance area. To rationalize thusly is to be blinded to the realities of adult life with its prejudices and opposition to integrated housing.

The question is no longer where the first move must be made in order to accomplish equality within our society; the question has become and possibly has always been who has the power and duty to make those moves so as to advance the accomplishment of that equality. This Court believes that the Pontiac Board of Education had and has the power and responsibility to make decisions as to locations of new schools and boundary lines so as to achieve an integrated student body. This Court acknowledges the recent position that a Board of Education has no affirmative duty to eliminate segregation when it has done nothing to create it, but this Court finds that the Pontiac Board of Education did a great deal to create the patterns presently existing within that school district and is now responsible to take action so as to eliminate the very situation which it caused. The harm to another generation of Black children while awaiting implementation of "long-range plans" to integrate simply cannot be tolerated, and no

degree of expense is unbearable when placed along side of the unbearable situation which exists for those Black children. The safety and well being of children in life involves more than the access routes in reaching school.

This Court believes in quality integrated education for all children. As early as 1958 the Superintendent of the Pontiac School System, Dr. Danna P. Whitmer, expressed similar beliefs and manifested a thorough awareness of the problems and goals when he stated:

"As a result of my own experience in Pontiac, and in Gary and previously, as well as my own study of this major problem which we face in our country, I feel that segregation, sanctioned in a school district, for example, is both abhorrent and illegal. Certainly if in this country we are to achieve in reality the ideals and principles on which it was founded, segregation, which prevents the natural and normal association together of people of varying ethnic, religious and racial backgrounds, must not be sanctioned in this country. And, consequently, in the discussions with the Board of Education of the School District of the City of Pontiac we have attempted continually to take action as would not segregate the schools." (See *Henry v. Godsell*, *Supra* p. 91.)

Just as there has been failure to implement pronounced policies regarding the elimination of segregation within the school body so too has there been a failure to provide an integrated faculty or administration within the system. The fact that the Board employ Negro faculty members when the majority of those teachers are confined to Black schools, is indicative of a practice of following and indeed advancing the segregated characteristics of the schools. A review of the testimony and exhibits made available to the Court reveals that, historically, Black teachers have been and continue to be assigned to Black schools and white teachers assigned to white schools. The fact that the Board of Education has, in an attempt to deprive the plaintiffs of any complaint in this regard, assigned one or two Black teachers to all white schools and vice versa is insufficient evidence that the problem is being corrected.

For example, Alcott School has a total enrollment of 608 students, 605 of which are white; Alcott has no Black teachers. Emerson School has an enrollment of 656 students all of whom are white; Emerson has one Black teacher. Weaver School, Whitfield School, Wisner School, Malcolm School and Willis School all have a white student body; each has one Black teacher. Other all white schools have, at most, two Black teachers. Whittier School, an all Black School, has two white teachers.

This Court could repeat here reams of testimony presented by the defendants to explain the situation in the teaching faculty which is presently found to exist. The record speaks for itself in this regard and warrants no magnified attention to reflect the discriminatory practices which continue to be followed in the Pontiac School System as to assignment of faculty and promotion of administrators. Segregation of faculties alone is sufficient for a finding that discrimination as to race has occurred in the Pontiac School System and that the Board is guilty of de jure segregation; the fact that a teacher must be consulted pursuant to contract prior to any transfer does not negate the fact that the Board has the power to effectuate transfers so as to assure quality education.

In this regard, Mr. William Lacy, Assistant Superintendent for instruction and school organization, testified that "it's my position that it is important that children receive instructions from both Black and white teachers during their public school careers. I feel that children who are being prepared to work and live need to know something about minority groups and in Pontiac the Black and white groups are of particular importance; and if a child, a white child receives instructions from a Black teacher, I think this enables him to form opinions of Black—about Black people that might be different from what he had previously had." "... The interests of the child is always primary" to that of the teacher. (P. 105-106).

Yet, despite this "primary interest" in the children, Mr. John Perdue, Director of School, Community and Human Relations acknowledged, as to integration of faculties, "there have been some things that have been accomplished within the last two years that would indicate that the policy has been followed. . . . Prior to the last two years, no, I would say absolutely no, because I see no evidence of what we are trying to—of Black people in certain places." (Mr. Perdue, P. 150). It was the testimony of Dr. Whitmer that there would be no monumental cost in transferring teachers so as to achieve the racial balance which the many resolutions recognize as necessary.

In view of the racial imbalance which obviously exists in the faculties of the Pontiac School system, it is incumbent on the defendants herein to prove that such did not result from discriminatory practices on their part. This the Pontiac Board of Education has failed to do. See *Chambers v. Hendersonville City Board of Education*, (1966) 364 F. 2d 189. *Rolfe v. County Board of Education of Lincoln County, Tennessee* (1968) 391 F. 2d 77. As stated in *Wheeler v. Derm City Board of Education* (1966) 363 F. 2d 738:

"The locus standi of pupils and parents to question faculty assignments was conclusively declared in *Bradley v. School Board*, Supra, 382 U.S. 103, 86 S. Ct. 224. We read the decision as authority for the proposition that removal of race considerations from faculty selection and allocation is, as a matter of law, an inseparable and indispensable command within the abolition of pupil segregation in public schools as pronounced in *Brown v. Board of Education*, Supra, 347 U.S. 484, 74 S. Ct. 686. Hence no proof of the relationship between faculty allocation and pupil assignment was required here. The only factual issue is whether or not race was a factor entering into the employment and placement of teachers."

CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

Based on the above findings, it is the opinion of this Court that the Pontiac School Board cannot use the neighborhood school concept as a disguise for the furtherance or perpetuation of racial discrimination when they participated in the segregated policy. (See *Deal v. Cincinnati* [1969] — F. 2d —.) The policies and practices of school officials or their predecessors in the past when amounting to *de jure* segregation, cannot be overlooked and ignored even though there may be a present day resolution in complete contradiction to prior practices. If school officials discriminated at any time on account of race and thereby created an unfair situation the effects of which presently persist, then the present day officials have an immediate obligation to overcome the effects of past discriminatory acts when such acts resulted in *de jure* segregation. See *U.S. v. School District No. 151* (1969) 301 F. Supp. 201.

Once it has been demonstrated as it has in this case that attendance lines were consistently drawn in such a fashion so as to discourage achievement of integration when such need not have occurred, the presumption can be made that the results reached were intended. When school officials have located new schools in such a fashion as to intensify racial imbalance, then the resulting situation is *de jure* segregation and they have the duty to eradicate the results of their discriminatory acts. See *Detroit v. Board of Education* (1969) — U.S. —. Where attendance lines have been drawn in such a way as to effectuate segregation and could be redrawn in such a way as to implement integration the latter policy must be followed immediately.

The right of all school children to obtain equal education opportunity is of "paramount importance" (See *Alexander v. Holmes County School Board* [1963] 396 U.S. 19) and cannot be subordinated even to criteria of nearness, safety of access routes, or capacities of the school.

Where placement of teachers has been made and continues to be made based on race and such placement contributes to the segregated characteristics of the schools, officials are obligated, under the Fourteenth Amendment, to make equitable distribution of teachers and administrators. Failure to do so deprives students of the right to be free of a situation by which their school is racially identifiable. (See *Kelley v. Altheimer* [1967] 378 F. 2d 483.)

Having purposely allowed such a situation to exist among its faculty members, the Pontiac Board of Education has the duty to modify and relocate teaching faculties so as to achieve a satisfactory racial balance, and such objective cannot be made contingent upon the willingness or unwillingness of a teacher to transfer voluntarily. (See *U.S. v. Board of Education of City of Bessemer* [1968] 396 F. 2d 44; *Monroe v. Commissioners of City of Jackson* [1967] 380 F. 2d 955). Once it has been shown that most Black teachers are assigned to Black schools and most white teachers to white schools, it then becomes the burden of the Board of Education to show that such assignments were not racially motivated. (See *Chambers v. Hendersonville, Supra*). In the absence of such a showing it is incumbent upon the Board to relieve the segregated situation found among the faculty members and administrators. A segregated faculty is indicative of a segregated school district.

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ORDER

I

Based on the findings of facts and conclusions of law heretofore enunciated—it is the ORDER of this Court that the Defendant Pontiac School District integrate its school system at all levels, student body, faculties and administrators before the beginning of the school year of September, 1970.

II

The Pontiac School District is further ordered to submit, for the Court's approval, on or before March 16, 1970, a comprehensive plan for the complete integration of the entire school system. Such integration shall be accomplished by the revising of boundary lines for attendance purposes, as well as by busing so as to achieve maximum racial integration.

In this regard the school district may find it helpful to seek out the advice of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. No final judgment will be entered in this matter until such time as this order has been implemented.

DAMON J. KEITH,
U.S. District Judge.

Dated February 17, 1970; a true copy.

FREDERICK W. JOHNSON, *Clerk.*

By _____, *Deputy Clerk.*

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 27, 1971]

HIGH COURT REFUSES TO HEAR PONTIAC SCHOOL BUSING CASE

By John P. MacKenzie

The Supreme Court refused yesterday to disturb lower court orders requiring racially troubled Pontiac, Mich., to bus several thousand school children to overcome the effects of past racial discrimination.

By its brief order the high court declined, at least for the time being, to consider staging a showdown on Northern school desegregation and what it takes to prove official discrimination outside the Deep South.

Another chance to tackle or sidestep the issue will confront the court late next month when petitions by civil rights lawyers and the Denver, Colo., school board over Denver's school racial policies will be ready for action.

In Pontiac, controversy and school absenteeism continued yesterday as 32 per cent of the city's children stayed out of school. NAACP attorney William Waterman said further violence in the city where 10 school buses were firebombed Aug. 30 could now come only from those who "desire to totally disrupt the order and law of the land."

Under court orders 9,000 of Pontiac's 23,500 school children are being bused to remedy what federal courts called a pattern of past government action encouraging or perpetuating segregation.

The school board argued that the system's racial separation resulted from residential patterns and other purely private citizen behavior. The board called its segregation "de facto" rather than the "de jure" or officially sponsored segregation of the South.

Federal courts held, however, that the city had chosen locations for new schools and drawn district boundaries in a way that involved official Pontiac intimately with the private patterns of its population.

Besides Denver, where both the city and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund are dissatisfied with the civil rights lawyers' partial victory, other Northern cities where litigation continues over racial segregation include Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Las Vegas.

By denying Pontiac's petition for review without comment, the court did not signify approval or disapproval of rulings by Federal Judge Damon J. Keith and the Sixth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Under court practice it meant only that not enough justices felt the decision should be reviewed.

At present the votes of three members of the court, still missing two of its nine justices, are considered sufficient for full argument and decision by written opinion.

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PETITION IGNORED

In a Southern school case the court ignored a petition by school officials in Winston-Salem, N.C., and surrounding Forsyth County which claimed that lower courts had gone too far in carrying out the high court's April ruling upholding busing and other drastic remedies to overcome de jure segregation.

Taking its cue from an unusual memorandum issued by Chief Justice Warren Burger Aug. 31 suggesting some federal judges might be "misreading" the April decision, the North Carolina board asked for a hearing on a plan to bus 32,000 children in a combined city and suburban school district.

In a Virginia case the court affirmed unanimously and without comment a lower court ruling that mostly white Richard Bland Junior College near Petersburg may not escalate to a four-year institution because it would frustrate efforts to desegregate mostly black Virginia State College seven miles away.

The court left standing a ruling by the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals that it was unlawful for Jefferson County, Ala., to sell an abandoned school building to a private academy organized to escape desegregation edicts. The lower court said the county could not accomplish by this indirect method the evasions of court decisions it could not violate directly.

In other action:

TEACHERS

The court agreed to decide whether a probationary instructor at the University of Wisconsin was entitled to an explanation of the state's refusal to hire him for a second year. Instructor David F. Roth charged that he was dropped for vocal opposition to university policies during campus disturbances but the state contends it does not have to give any reasons to an untenured teacher.

Lower courts have divided sharply on the issue and the court has already agreed to consider a new instructor's rights in a system in which none of the teachers have tenure.

WHITE MILITANCE IN MICHIGAN—BLOCK THOSE BUSES

By Daniel Zwerdling

All the tensions of desegregation come to the surface here. You can draw a line where the white blue-collar community ends and the black ghetto begins. But now the North's first major busing program based on de jure segregation is carting 9000 students each day to hostile turf, up to six miles across the city.

Pontiac is a tough factory town—35,000 of its 85,000 residents work in three General Motors plants on the north side—but its white workers have never been mobilized as they are now. In just two months their antibusing National Action Group (NAG) has gained worldwide publicity by picketing and boycotting the schools, blocking school buses, even chaining nine women to the busyard gates. They've been drawing enormous support from Detroit's white-collar suburbs since a federal district judge ordered metropolitanwide busing for next fall. Fast becoming the national spokesman for the antibusing crusade, NAG is now pushing a constitutional amendment to prohibit school busing. "I've never seen a group organize the public to a greater extent than NAG," says Pontiac Police Chief William Hanger. "No one attracts bigger crowds, outside of athletic events."

Racial clashes are endemic here. Shockwaves from the Detroit riots hit the town in the summer of 1967 when two persons died during three days of window smashing and arson. White and black communities battled a year later over the location of a new \$15 million high school, turning one school board meeting into a chair-throwing melee. Last October the mayor declared a state of emergency and clamped a curfew on the city after blacks shot four white high school students, sparking student-police battles.

City studies warned early in the '60s that black and white communities were becoming dangerously polarized. The black population has soared 60 percent in the last decade; whites have declined almost 10 percent. Today blacks comprise over a fifth of the population; city officials, District Judge Damon Keith found, have deliberately drawn tax and voting districts to keep blacks boxed in on the south side. As expensive subdivisions crop up in rural areas encircling Detroit, Pontiac's professional class flees, leaving behind the poor first- and second-generation Appalachian whites who poured into the auto factories during

the '30s and '40s—and the poorer blacks who fled the Deep South or Detroit's slums.

Pontiac ceremoniously passed an open housing ordinance in 1968, but whites never expected the busing. "We were just watching it happen in the South, and waiting," says a NAG supporter who turns bolts in the Fisher Body plant. "We should have joined the fight years ago." Under the busing plan, which stems from an NAACP lawsuit, all elementary and junior high students will take the bus sometime during the next four years, making every school 20-to-40 percent black. Teachers are also being shuffled.

"You would have to interview a hell of a lot of people to find anyone who thinks busing is a good idea," says an editor of the *Pontiac Press*, which is losing several hundred subscriptions each month because its editorials support the plan. The local school board has wasted \$40,000 in futile court appeals because it fears the busing decision will "cause a white flight that will convert the City of Pontiac into a black municipality." Judging by the "For Sale" signs which sprinkle the white north side, it may be right. Most black citizens support the busing, say NAACP leaders, but only as a last resort. And they don't talk out loud about it.

When Pontiac's new buses began rolling out of the GM Coach and Motor Plant in August, local conservatives revived a defunct Concerned Parents organization, which worried three years ago about drugs. They called a rally at the local stadium; 5,000 people came. A local attorney, James Wells, gave them a hint of their power: "Don't be afraid to be prosecuted. They can't prosecute all of us," he reportedly said. "Even if they do, as long as we have some white people on the jury you'll never be found guilty." If the courts didn't help, divine law would: when busing is defeated, said a local minister, "the ones who have been silent will thank you a thousand times over."

Pontiac's problems became a matter of national interest when 10 schoolbuses were blown to bits last month on the first day of school. NAG leaders condemned the bombing, which the FBI attributes to the Ku Klux Klan, but the incident provided a spectacular introduction to three days of massive protests. NAG placards proclaimed: "We're fighting for *our* civil rights now," and asked, "Do you smell Communism when one man overrules 99 percent of the people?" Hundreds of parents swarmed early the first school mornings into the streets, blocking the buses for several hours. Hundreds more picketed the schools, but instead of "We Shall Overcome" they chanted the Battle Hymn and the Pledge of Allegiance. "You can't run over the American flag," picketers yelled, walking across the driveways so buses had to unload outside school grounds, forcing children to enter school between protective flanks of riot police with helmets and clubs. At one elementary school, the bus bypassed screaming pickets and delivered its black youths at the back entrance. "If there's anything that grates on black folks' nerves," said one mother, "it's going in the back way."

The law is on the protesters' side in Pontiac. Police Chief Hanger claims his men used "gentle persuasion and logic" to move demonstrators from the roads; observers say the police did nothing. The police force had told the city where it stood when the Pontiac Police Officers Association voted to contribute \$300 to NAG coffers. It later gave an equal amount to the NAACP after Judge Keith ordered federal marshals to investigate. Both NAG and the NAACP tore up the checks. Most policemen covering the demonstrations idled on the sidewalks. That rankled people who recalled how police had previously arrested blacks demonstrating at school board meetings. Hanger remembers that he "heard them [blacks] shouting obscenities at male and female members of the school board. We had to move." During the NAG demonstrations, "if people were picketing or blocking buses we didn't run up and arrest them. That would inflame the situation," Hanger says. "If we wanted to get technical we could have arrested hundreds." Police did arrest the women in chains, who call themselves the Pontiac Nine, and they arrested two women who leaped screaming onto a school bus and two who threw stink bombs, and some others. In one incident captured on television, a black woman driving her child to school slammed on the brakes to avoid hitting a baby and stroller which a NAG mother had wheeled onto the driveway to halt traffic. When the woman jumped from her car in horror, a policeman intervened. "These people are picketing peacefully," he told her. "Get back in your car." One officer explained how his buddies feel: "When I go home at night and take off my uniform I start counting my kids' bruises. They [blacks] pick on them because their dad's a cop."

NAG insists that its opposition to busing has nothing to do with race. They know, as their attorney L. Brooks Patterson says, that NAG will die if the campaign seems to be white vs. black. In fact, says Patterson, "we've gone out of our way to enlist blacks in the suites we've filed. And we always show that contribution envelopes are signed 'From the white and black employees of . . .'" NAG opposes the busing plan because it destroys "the neighborhood school system" which is "the American way." Pontiac schools have been busing some kids for years and many parents send their children to parochial schools. But that's voluntary. As NAG clarifies its position, it gets closer to color. "We want to keep our children in our neighborhood school where we know they're safe," says one mother. "Suppose I send my daughter to school and she gets thrown through a window and breaks her neck, or she gets molested or stabbed." Another woman reports her niece "is always getting tampered with. Those [black] boys are very forward."

NAG members enthusiastically tabulate injury counts: their headquarters receives breathless phone calls each day, reporting alleged stabbings or beatings which can be reported to the police. Irene McCabe, NAG's main spokesman, publicly asked for "a picture, an X-ray, anything I can show on TV" to counter a newspaper photo of two black and white children holding hands. A father sent a snapshot of his son bleeding from a head wound.

There were fights in several schools during the first days and some students needed stitches. "You got to know jungle warfare to go to schools these days," says a white student. "If you don't know how to fight you're dead. But there was fighting last year and the year before that. If the busing stopped tomorrow the fighting wouldn't stop."

"Our teachers tell us to Love Thy Neighbor," he says. "I hate mine. Man, I wouldn't mind killing me a few niggers right now."

But in most schools fighting is minimal; even the roughest junior high is calm again. The young children don't know what racial hatred means. "I want to go to school but my mommy won't let me," said a seven-year-old girl as her mother picketed the school board. "I miss my friends."

After state troopers moved into Pontiac on the third day of trouble, NAG leaders called off the pickets and the boycotts, which cut initial school enrollment by 40 percent, now down to 12 percent. The buses rolled and the schools remained integrated. But Pontiac's blue-collar whites may have won a victory anyway: they have created a powerful force the community must reckon with. Mrs. McCabe, their leader, has vaulted to national fame. She's 36, blond and the factory workers who give NAG its strength love her figure. She has no political experience but she shows an instinct for leading the organization while giving members a feeling that she is still one of them—which she is. Mrs. McCabe also has a flair for dramatics which is one reason the David Frost and David Susskind and other national and regional TV shows have invited and reinvited her to appear. Sometimes she unbuttons her jacket, twirls it in one hand and butts out her chest to show the flimsy NAG teeshirt ("Bus judges, not our children") which Pontiac citizens are buying by the thousands. The company which produces them also makes "I love the Pigs" teeshirts. Since the first week of protests, Mrs. McCabe has been hopping from magazine interviews to radio programs to two or three rallies scattered around the state, to television shows, dipping into Memphis to meet with Claude Kirk, flying back to Pontiac to picket the school board for an hour. After District Judge Stephen Roth first announced he might order metropolitan-wide busing, every school district in three adjacent counties rented town auditoriums and church social halls where Mrs. McCabe spoke. Nearby Oxford canceled all regularly scheduled Rotary and church club meetings one night so everyone could turn out for NAG.

One night three weeks ago in Oakland County, Mrs. McCabe drew one of the largest crowds in local history. Police can't remember the last time so many men came home tired from the plant and brought their wives, weary from cooking and cleaning, to a night meeting. Once the rally is under way, Mrs. McCabe announces NAG will hold a statewide rally later this month, probably in Detroit's Tiger Stadium, and everyone cheers. A representative from the Iron Workers waves a check his local is contributing to NAG, and Mrs. McCabe descends from the dais and runs up the aisle to kiss him as the crowd roars. Everyone knows how UAW's Leonard Woodcock stopped a Pontiac local from giving \$99.99, the maximum union rules allow, to the antibusing cause. Mrs. McCabe quotes the Declaration of Independence to the effect that "it is not only your right but our duty to change things when they get bad"—a quote that Dick

Gregory has often used to justify revolution—and then says “Martin Luther King walked all over and he got a lot of things done. This is our civil rights struggle. Right on!”

The busing controversy is a symptom of deeper discontents among Pontiac's working class. If they belong to the silent majority, they are (except for political purposes) its most neglected majority. That explains why the KKK, Break-through, Statecraft and other militant rightwing groups flourish in Pontiac. The poor whites don't play any part in the decisions which affect their lives, and the men who make those decisions don't have to live by them. “The white collars, the wealthy people and the intellectuals—bigshots we call them—99.99 percent of them live outside. They don't live in Pontiac and put up with what we have to,” says a NAG supporter. “The politicians always overrule the little people.” These workers complain about high mortgages, high prices, grueling hours at the plant (“My kids hardly know they've got a father; he's all day and night on the job,” says a NAG mother) and now, their children can't even attend the schools their high taxes support. “Everyone talks about the blacks and how oppressed they are,” says one man. “They're on welfare and all the politicians cater to them, while we drag out of bed each morning, make the payments on the car and say what's right with the world. Hell, we're the ones who are oppressed.”

These people, whose ticky-tacky bungalows overlook acres of factory parking lots, see an explosion coming. “People around here are saying let's fight busing legally, don't be rash. But let's face it: it has to come to the worst before things get better and it's just about the worst now,” says one of the Pontiac Nine. “If they don't stop the busing it's coming to violence. My husband says he fought in Korea for a war he didn't believe in and he'll be damned if he won't fight for freedom here.”

NAG's momentum is growing. Hundreds of letters from Ohio, Pennsylvania, a small Texas town, Boston and Korea flood their headquarters, a tiny trailer on the outskirts of town. Folks send money or ask how to form NAG chapters—40 school districts in Michigan alone already have affiliates. In Macomb County, sympathy boycotts three weeks ago cut school attendance 22 percent.

NAG leaders are trying to devise new tactics to keep themselves in the news. “We'd break the law again if we thought it would help gain our freedom,” said one mother who was arrested, but NAG's attorneys have threatened to quit if antibusers don't stick to the rules. Civil disobedience smacks too much of antiwar protests. Last week Mrs. McCabe called a “sleep-in”: parents trundled with sleeping bags onto the school board lawn at 4 a.m. and then left to prepare breakfast for their kids and to make the morning shifts. Members are writing letters to congressmen urging them to support the antibusing constitutional amendment. “If a congressman won't sign and the power in his district is Wrigley's Gum, then we won't chew gum,” says Mrs. McCabe.

Now that NAG is going to devote most of its energies to the amendment, “Our fight will be in the legal and political arena,” says Mrs. McCabe, which means that the main actors will change from parents in Pontiac to lawyers and politicians in Washington. “We're not abandoning Pontiac,” says attorney Patterson. “but we can't fight this thing for ourselves in Pontiac. It's too big.” Mrs. McCabe and Patterson say they plan a trip to Washington to talk strategy with Sen. Robert Griffin (R, Mich.) and Sen. William Brock (R, Tenn.) who have both introduced amendments which would prohibit forced busing. A House version of the amendment is bottled up in committee, but Patterson expects a six-month campaign will get 250 representatives' signatures for a discharge petition needed to force it to the floor. “We can have this amendment passed by the beginning of school next year,” he says—passed by two-thirds of Congress and ratified by 38 states.

The reaction in Pontiac suggests what other northern cities can expect. In San Francisco, where 26,000 students are being bused, boycotts left schools 40 percent empty. A district court in Richmond, Va. is contemplating a busing plan which would involve two entire counties. And in Indianapolis, a judge is still deciding how to integrate schools. He has indicated that if white groups will accept, he may limit busing one way from the black inner city to the white suburbs. He'll leave the whites alone.

In Pontiac, “you can't be in favor of integration and not be in favor of busing,” says Howard Lacy, the assistant school superintendent. Since the schools are supported largely by property taxes, the schools in poor black neighborhoods suffer while the schools in better-off white areas prosper. Michigan's governor and attorney general will initiate a court suit challenging this method

of financing, which California's Supreme Court has already ruled is unconstitutional. Congress, meanwhile, is girding itself for a house floor fight on a bill which would grant special funds to help schools desegregate—including busing, a provision which President Nixon opposes.

Busing is achieving a racial balance, but at a price. Pontiac's program will cost \$665,000 this year and at least \$350,000 more each year until 1977. Partly as a result, school officials have slashed their budget 10 percent—cutting instructional facilities and equipment 33 percent and laying off 112 teachers. All other teachers without tenure must serve on a day-to-day no-contract basis.

The long-range human benefits will come slowly and painfully. In one junior high in the black ghetto, where whites have come, the walls have been painted and the main office has a new rug.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY B. LINNE, PRESIDENT, MICHIGAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO

Educational Reform has been a major item for political consideration in Michigan for several years. The positions the Michigan Federation of Teachers has taken apply also to the national level. In fact, unless Congress provides substantially larger sums of money for public education, equal educational opportunity will remain a dream rather than become a reality.

Our position as stated in October, 1969, is "The Michigan Federation of Teachers supports educational reform. We support restructuring of [state] educational finance 1) so that equal opportunity for quality education for all (Michigan) citizens will become a reality, 2) so that quality education for the differing needs of students and citizens will be adequately financed, and 3) so that the burden of financial support for education will be shared by all (Michigan) citizens based on their ability to pay. We support the reorganization and restructure of the educational system (in Michigan) so that every child and every citizen will have the opportunity for education and re-education based upon his needs and capabilities regardless of his place of residence, his economic or social circumstances and regardless of his racial or ethnic origin."

By education, we mean primarily pre-elementary, elementary and secondary public education but we include continuing or adult education and community college and college education as well.

FINANCE

As a state organization, we have supported changes in Michigan financial support of education to accomplish a uniform state-wide property tax levy for public schools at a rate substantially lower than the current state-wide average property tax rate. State-wide taxes from a graduated income tax should replace the revenue lost in providing relief to residential property taxpayers and to provide additional needed revenue to attain quality education in many districts which presently cannot provide it.

Uniform assessment of property by qualified assessors under state supervision is also required.

The uniform property tax rate can be applied as a deductible from a larger guaranteed amount of state support for each student, or the tax yield can be guaranteed at substantially equal amounts with additional state support to provide the required quality education programs. Additional money from state and federal taxes, in much larger amounts than are presently provided, is needed to provide the financial support necessary for those areas and students who have educational learning handicaps—(categorical aid based on educational need).

There are several realities that need to be kept in mind:

Costs per secondary student are greater than per elementary student because of more expensive equipment and materials;

Costs for a child with learning disabilities will exceed costs for an average child;

Costs for a child from a home or area where the child's experiences are not conducive or motivated to learning will be considerably greater than for a child whose pre-school and out-of-school experiences reinforce the need or desire for a good education; and

Costs for remedial or catch-up education probably will exceed the costs to provide a good education in the first place.

We subscribe to the remarks made by David Selden in his testimony before this committee on October 5, 1971, concerning the additional money needed to educate the "marginal" child.

In short, we do not believe that equal educational opportunity can be equated to equal dollar expenditures. We do agree though that, at present, lesser amounts of money are spent on those children with greater educational needs. From this point, equal dollar expenditures would mean improvement in educational offerings to those in greatest need. But this would not provide equal opportunity based on needs or capabilities.

In order to provide the possibility of equal educational opportunity in Michigan, I have calculated that current operating expenditures would have to be increased by 25 to 30%. (Current operating expenditures for 1970-71 were \$1,573,118,910 for 2,164,386 students in kindergarten through 12th grade.) The state of Michigan from a practical political perspective is unable to increase its revenues for education to such an extent.

Such an increase in funds in a short period of time would be unwise because there are neither sufficient trained professionals nor adequate educational facilities to use such money effectively. However, a commitment to move toward equal educational opportunity and to provide the funds to support it is required, if this dream is to become a reality.

I believe the nation is on the threshold of an opportune time to make such a commitment. The number of children of school age has reached its peak and may decline from now to 1980, while the number of teacher graduates from the colleges is increasing. Unless the birth rate continues to decline and patterns of family living and the number of children per family change, we will have, beginning about 1985, an increase in school age children much greater than the increase that occurred from 1955 to 1968.

SCHOOL REORGANIZATION

In addition to changes in the structure of educational financing and much more financial support, we believe that reorganization of local school districts is also a necessary element for achieving equal educational opportunity.

"In order to have a large enough enrollment at the secondary level so that students have the options of a comprehensive secondary program, local districts should have a minimum of 5,000 students. In more densely populated areas, the target enrollment should be about 20,000 students. Maximum enrollment should be about 40,000 to 60,000 students."

"The objectives of reorganization should be to establish school districts with a student population that is a mixture of socio-economic, racial and ethnic characteristics."

"From an educational point of view, a student, whose education is restricted to a student body and community of similar socio-economic and ethnic background and political, social and philosophic point of view, does not have the opportunity for an education that will prepare him to cope adequately with the total society in which he will have to live and work after graduation."

(Michigan Federation of Teachers "Reaction and Alternate Recommendation to Education Reform," October, 1969)

INTEGRATION

We believe an integrated student body (not only black and white but including other ethnic minorities as well) is an essential part of quality education. The schools by themselves cannot solve the problem of integration. What is necessary, I believe, is a coordinated approach covering the schools especially in adult education, urban renewal, housing rehabilitation, low-cost housing and economic assistance to low income groups and/or mortgage loan guarantees, expansion of job opportunities, and improved public transportation to suburban industrial and commercial areas without limitations on distance from urban city limits. Economic discrimination is a strong reinforcer of segregated housing on minorities. So long as the poor must depend for economic assistance on private financial institutions, the vicious combination of poverty and racial or ethnic discrimination and segregation will continue.

EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT

We support efforts to assess how well and how poorly education is doing, so long as these efforts are sincere and constructive. We have become sensitive and wary about some of the directions and abuses resulting from preliminary information from embryonic assessment programs.

For instance, we are concerned that present achievement and intelligence tests are neither valid nor fair for use with all students. The language and verbal experiences on which these tests are based are not so closely related to the experiences of rural or inner city children.

Another concern is that achievement tests are being used as indices of levels of skills, whereas criterion referenced instruments would be more valid for this purpose. And there has been too little development and field testing of criterion referenced instruments for assurance of their validity and reliability.

We are also concerned that an emphasis on student achievement or student results will tend to constrain the total curriculum to emphasize those things which the tests purportedly measure, or that teaching will emphasize those things on which the students will be tested (teaching to the test). This could tend to deemphasize human relations or understanding, creativity, critical thinking, and intellectual curiosity.

Testing is only one method or part of evaluation. An assessment program must be broader than simply a testing program.

We thank you for the opportunity to present our views on Finance, Integration, and Assessment.

ANALYSIS OF MICHIGAN PUBLIC SCHOOL EXPENDITURES BASED ON BULLETINS 1011: ANALYSIS OF REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES—COMPUTATIONS BY HENRY B. LINNE

	1962-63	1964-65	1965-66	Percent change from 1964-65	Percent change from 1962-63	Percent change from 1965-66 to 1969-70
Number of school districts.....	1,580	1,227	993	-19.07	-37.26	-35.75
Number of students.....	1,794,045	1,917,890	1,968,403	2.63	9.71	9.96
Number of teachers.....	68,099	72,935	76,047	4.27	11.67	16.98
Student/teacher ratio.....	26.34	26.30	25.88	-1.58	-1.75	-5.09
General fund equity.....	\$58,255,960	\$98,812,850	\$105,937,594	7.21	81.85	\$102,207,712
General fund revenues:						
Local sources:						
State sources.....	374,586,926	434,591,762	514,363,878	18.36	37.31	938,594,941
Federal (redistributed by State and direct):	339,857,741	383,357,421	446,761,050	16.54	31.46	684,627,844
Federal (redistributed by State and direct):	6,041,062	13,454,292	44,460,724	230.46	635.98	63,714,803
Instruction.....	509,915,620	599,654,604	687,107,122	14.58	34.74	1,193,376,893
Administration.....	25,555,579	28,812,632	32,845,739	14.00	28.52	56,778,669
Attendance.....	2,892,778	3,000,770	3,381,046	12.67	16.88	5,368,186
Health services.....	2,028,196	2,141,177	2,582,418	20.61	27.33	4,151,039
Transportation.....	26,051,442	29,658,622	31,469,445	16.22	32.31	55,779,810
Operation.....	84,850,508	97,032,211	106,804,438	10.07	23.87	161,988,876
Maintenance.....	23,391,735	27,327,733	31,983,565	17.04	36.73	48,128,548
Fixed charges.....	16,803,754	17,290,981	19,768,752	14.33	17.64	47,546,889
Total current expenditures.....	691,489,615	804,918,730	918,942,525	14.17	32.90	1,573,118,910
Capital outlay.....	11,091,552	13,801,381	19,228,256	39.32	73.36	18,754,333
Community services.....	4,988,640	6,628,997	10,438,919	57.47	109.25	14,186,938
Student services.....	10,719,491	1,973,741	54,348,072	NA	407.03	82,187,575
Debt retirement expense.....	84,470,849	89,589,632	94,702,254	5.71	12.11	141,321,020
Building and site expense.....	134,481,506	155,570,416	178,090,938	14.48	32.42	257,730,578
Total expenditures.....	937,241,655	1,072,482,897	1,275,750,964	18.95	36.11	2,087,299,354
						63.61

MICHIGAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS—18123 JAMES COUZENS—DETROIT, MICH.
SUMMARY OF OPERATING MILLAGE RANGES AND DOLLARS PER STUDENT FOR SCHOOL OPERATION FROM LOCAL TAX AND BASIC STATE AID FOR 1970-71 (BASED ON DATA FROM DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, JAN. 27, 1971)

	1969-70									
	Districts					Membership				
	Number at level	Cumulative totals	Percent of total at level	Percent of total	Cumulative totals	Number at level	Cumulative totals	Percent at level	Percent of total	Operating mill range
Operating mills:										
35 or more	38	3	0.49	0.49	36,381	36,281	36,381	1.67	1.67	
30 to 34.99	34	37	5.50	5.99	261,969	225,588	261,969	10.35	12.02	
25 to 29.99	105	142	16.99	22.98	924,716	662,747	924,716	30.41	42.43	27+
20.001 to 24.99	209	351	33.82	56.80	1,800,965	876,249	1,800,965	40.20	82.63	18+
17 to 20	128	479	20.71	77.51	2,035,424	234,459	2,035,424	10.76	93.39	16+
14.001 to 16.99	76	555	12.30	89.81	2,164,928	111,534	2,164,928	5.12	99.33	14+
12 to 14	52	607	8.41	98.22	2,179,125	32,197	2,179,125	1.48	99.98	12+
10 to 11.99	3	610	.49	98.71	2,179,399	184	2,179,399	.01	99.99	12-
Under 10	8	618	1.29	100.00	2,179,516	207	2,179,516	.01	100.00	
Subtotal	618				2,179,516					
Closed districts	11	11								
Total	629	629								
Dollars for operation per student (based on local tax and State aid from sec. 8 only):										
\$1,000 or more	21	21	3.40	3.40	97,522	97,522	97,522	4.47	4.47	\$1,000.00+
\$900 to \$999	20	41	3.24	6.63	178,682	81,160	178,682	3.72	8.20	900.00+
\$800 to \$899	34	75	5.50	12.14	431,539	252,857	431,539	11.60	19.80	800.00+
\$700 to \$799	108	813	17.47	29.61	1,061,462	629,923	1,061,462	28.90	48.70	700.00+
\$623.50 to \$699	227	410	36.73	66.34	1,880,758	819,296	1,880,758	37.59	86.29	600.00+
\$500 to \$623.49	193	603	31.23	97.57	2,177,541	296,783	2,177,541	13.62	99.91	500.00+
\$400 to \$500	10	613	1.62	99.19	2,179,364	1,823	2,179,364	.08	99.99	400.00+
Under \$400	5	618	.81-	100.00	2,179,516	152	2,179,516	.01	100.00	

Summation: Total SEV for Michigan, 38,574,714,360; less SEV of closed districts, -4,896,864; totals 33,677,849, =17,696 State average SEV/M.

NUMBER OF DISTRICTS AND STUDENTS BY SEV/MILLAGE AND OPERATIONAL MILLAGE RANGE (BASED ON SEV/MILLAGE, MEMBERSHIP AND OPERATIONAL MILLAGE IN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, JAN. 27, 1971, COMPARABLE RUN)

[1st number in each column is number of school districts; 2d number in each column is number of students]

SEV/Millage	Under 10 operating mills	10 to 11.99 operating mills	12 to 14 operating mills	14.001 to 16.99 operating mills	17 to 20 operating mills	20.001 to 24.99 operating mills	25 to 29.99 operating mills	20 to 34.99 operating mills	35 or more operating mills	Total across	
										District	Students
Over 49.714	3	55	4	234	3	1,811	6	468	1	3,675	3
45.334 to 49.713	1	22	2	2,211	1	27	1	4,220	3	4,354	17
37.893 to 45.333				68	3	4,987	1	1,936	3	3,859	7
36.500 to 37.892				46	1	1,433	1	1,154	1	21,094	10
34.500 to 36.499					2	738	1	38		5,540	6
32.500 to 34.499							1	3,525			10
31.500 to 32.499							1	1,238			3
30.500 to 31.499							1	1,035			4
29.500 to 30.499							1	671			14,865
28.500 to 29.499							1	1,245			7
27.500 to 28.499							1	9,852			48,336
26.500 to 27.499							1	2,655			5
25.500 to 26.499							1	2,448			7
							1	1,809			48,677
							1	9,829			21,948
							1				13,738
							1				13,426
Total: 25,500 plus	4	77	15	3,325	17	23,105	17	17,708	23	63,730	88
											229,401
24,500 to 25,499	1	28									8
23,500 to 24,499											32,600
22,500 to 23,499											53,054
21,500 to 22,499											13
20,500 to 21,499											22,324
19,500 to 20,499											11
											21,130
											23
											97,338
											147,542
Total 19,500 to 25,499	1	28	1	36	6	2,194	8	6,836	19	32,970	80
											373,988
Cumulative total: 19,500 plus	5	105	1	36	21	5,519	25	29,941	36	50,678	168
18,500 to 19,499	1	32									603,389
17,500 to 18,499	1	34									145,249
16,500 to 17,499											332,451
15,500 to 16,499	1	36	2	148	3	704	5	3,718	9	19,954	22
											118,311
											114,420
Total: 15,500 to 19,499	3	102	2	148	11	1,309	12	11,159	16	34,215	112
											710,431
Cumulative total: 15,500 plus	8	207	3	184	32	6,828	37	41,100	52	84,893	280
											1,313,820

NUMBER OF DISTRICTS AND STUDENTS BY SEV/MILLAGE AND OPERATIONAL MILLAGE RANGE (BASED ON SEV/MILLAGE, MEMBERSHIP AND OPERATIONAL MILLAGE IN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, JAN. 27, 1971, COMPARABLE RUN)—Continued

[1st number in each column is number of school districts; 2d number in each column is number of students]

SEV/Millage	Under 10 operating mills				10 to 11.99 operating mills		12 to 14 operating mills		14,001 to 16.99 operating mills		17 to 20 operating mills		20,001 to 24.99 operating mills		25 to 29.99 operating mills		20 to 34.99 operating mills		35 or more operating mills		Total across	
																				District	Students	
14,500 to 15,499							2	764	4	5,309	4	4,230	13	32,559	7	20,075	3	27,932			33	90,869
13,500 to 14,499							3	2,284	5	6,880	7	19,642	15	30,073	9	60,178					39	119,057
12,500 to 13,499							2	1,622	3	5,804	15	38,041	20	43,776	8	41,233	2	11,530	2	33,072	52	173,619
11,500 to 12,499							2	7,655	5	10,317	9	18,947	18	37,857	8	32,702	4	42,047			46	149,525
10,500 to 11,499							2	1,509	6	12,571	12	22,198	19	39,045	7	19,480					46	94,803
9,500 to 10,499							1	1,162	6	11,564	12	21,405	14	24,483	5	12,333	2	4,953			40	74,980
8,500 to 9,499							1	2,201	2	3,519	7	9,081	19	29,427	9	27,599	3	8,450			41	80,277
7,500 to 8,499							3	3,203	4	6,585	5	10,288	3	4,057	4	25,388	1	651			20	50,122
6,500 to 7,499							1	245	4	7,835			3	3,864	3	2,522					12	15,391
5,500 to 6,499											3	2,503	1	4,345	1	715					5	7,563
4,500 to 5,499							1	764			1	2,306									2	3,070
3,500 to 4,499							1	3,857													1	3,857
2,500 to 3,499							1	2,563													1	2,563
Total 2,500 to 15,499							20	25,369	39	70,404	76	149,566	125	249,486	61	242,235	15	95,563	2	33,073	338	865,696
Grand total	8	207	3	184	52	32,197	76	111,504	128	234,459	209	876,249	105	662,747	34	225,588	3	36,381			618	2,179,516
Closed districts	7		2				2													11		
Total																					629	

10054

NUMBER OF DISTRICTS AND STUDENTS BY SEV/MILLAGE AND DOLLAR/MILLAGE FOR SCHOOL OPERATION BASED ON LOCAL OPERATING TAX AND BASIC STATE AID (1970-71 - SEV, MEMBERSHIP
SEV/MILLAGE AND OPERATING MILLAGE FROM DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, JAN. 27, 1971)

[1st number in each column is number of school districts; 2d number in each column is number of students]

SEV/Millage	\$1,000 plus		\$900 to 999		\$800 to 899		\$700 to 799		\$623.50 to 699		\$500 to 623.49		\$400 to 500		Under \$400		Total across	
	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership
Over 49,714	10	5,864	2	83			3	249			1	22	1	25			17	6,243
45,334 to 49,713	3	4,354					1	27	1	2,188	1	23			1	22	7	6,614
37,893 to 45,333	3	21,954	2	2,999	3	9,007	1	200			1	68					10	34,228
36,500 to 37,892	1	5,540	1	1,154	1	1,936			1	1,433	2	46					6	10,109
34,500 to 36,499							1	38	2	738							3	776
32,500 to 34,499							2	3,859									4	4,017
31,500 to 32,499							1	1,238			1	1,196					5	14,865
30,500 to 31,499	1	13,286	2	10,355	1	2,076			2	1,046							7	48,436
29,500 to 30,499			3	30,514	1	3,590			2	916							5	6,324
28,500 to 29,499			2	4,827	1	581					3	9,871	1	200			7	48,677
27,500 to 28,499	1	20,152	1	5,709	1	12,745	2	4,223									4	21,948
26,500 to 27,499	1	16,912			1	813			2	2,448	3	1,038					7	13,738
25,500 to 26,499	1	9,460			1	792	1	1,809	1	498	3	1,290					6	13,426
Subtotal	21	97,522	14	55,757	12	41,411	12	11,643	11	9,267	15	13,554	2	225	1	22	88	229,401
24,500 to 25,499					1	4,409	2	24,488	1	813	3	2,862			1	28	8	32,600
23,500 to 24,499			2	11,015	2	32,258	1	1,491	2	6,874	2	1,416					9	53,054
22,500 to 23,499			1	1,340	3	14,626	2	862	4	2,230	2	1,964	1	1,302			13	22,324
21,500 to 22,499			1	7,291			2	2,106	5	9,666	3	2,067					11	21,130
20,500 to 21,499			1	2,449			6	69,772	11	19,985	4	5,107	1	25			23	97,338
19,500 to 20,499			1	3,308	1	165	8	134,197	2	9,349	2	466	2	57			16	147,540
Subtotal	0		6	25,403	7	51,458	21	232,916	25	48,917	16	13,882	4	1,384	1	28	80	373,988
Cumulative total	21	97,522	20	81,160	19	92,869	33	244,559	36	58,184	31	27,436	6	1,609	2	50	168	603,389

NUMBER OF DISTRICTS AND STUDENTS BY SEV/MILLAGE AND DOLLAR/MILLAGE FOR SCHOOL OPERATION BASED ON LOCAL OPERATING TAX AND BASIC STATE AID (1970-71--SEV, MEMBERSHIP,
SEV/MILLAGE AND OPERATING MILLAGE FROM DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, JAN. 27, 1971)--Continued

[1st number in each column is number of school districts; 2d number in each column is number of students]

SEV/Millage	\$1,000 plus		\$900 to 999		\$800 to 899		\$700 to 799		\$623.50 to 699		\$500 to 623.49		\$400 to 500		Under \$400		Total across	
	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership	Dis- trict	Mem- bership
18,500 to 19,499					3	57,718	6	66,987	4	16,438	4	4,048	1	26	1	32	19	145,249
17,500 to 18,499					1	16,411	7	12,104	3	292,434	10	11,468			1	34	22	332,451
16,500 to 17,499					3	18,507	9	70,178	13	24,806	6	4,820					31	118,311
15,500 to 16,499					4	18,077	8	28,716	8	43,067	16	24,336	3	188	1	36	40	114,420
Subtotal					11	110,713	30	177,985	28	376,745	36	44,672	4	214	3	102	112	710,431
Cumulative total	21	97,522	20	81,160	30	203,582	63	422,544	64	434,929	67	72,108	10	1,823	5	152	280	1,313,820
14,500 to 15,499					2	16,202	8	31,805	13	32,559	10	10,303					33	90,869
13,500 to 14,499							8	44,265	17	52,524	14	22,268					39	119,057
12,500 to 13,499					2	33,073	8	48,261	24	50,892	18	41,393					52	173,619
11,500 to 12,499							6	46,469	25	70,204	15	32,852					46	149,525
10,500 to 11,499							2	2,870	27	60,990	17	30,943					46	94,803
9,500 to 10,499							4	9,155	18	33,545	18	32,280					40	74,980
8,500 to 9,499							8	23,903	24	42,812	9	13,562					41	80,277
7,500 to 8,499							1	651	7	29,395	12	20,076					20	50,122
6,500 to 7,499									6	6,386	6	9,005					12	15,391
5,500 to 6,499									2	5,060	3	2,503					5	7,563
4,500 to 5,499											2	3,070					2	3,070
3,500 to 4,499											1	3,857					1	3,857
2,500 to 3,499											1	2,563					1	2,563
Subtotal					4	49,275	45	207,379	163	384,367	126	224,675	0		0		338	865,696
Cumulative total	21	97,522	20	81,160	34	252,857	108	629,923	227	819,296	193	296,783	10	1,823	5	152	618	2,179,516
Closed																	11	
Total																	629	

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WHITE AND THE NEGRO POPULATION IN THE DETROIT METROPOLITAN AREA

By Irving J. Rubin

I. INTRODUCTION

In order to gather some of the data necessary to develop a comprehensive 1990 transportation and land use plan for the seven counties of Southeastern Michigan (Wayne, Oakland, Macomb, Monroe, Washtenaw, St. Clair, Livingston), TALUS surveyed every 25th household in the urbanizing parts of the region, providing a 4% sample of 93% of TALUS area households. The survey was conducted for TALUS from August of 1965 through February of 1966 by the Center for Urban Studies of the University of Michigan, Dearborn Campus.

The purpose of the survey was two-fold: first, to provide an accurate picture of all travel behavior within the region on an average week-day; secondly, to obtain information on the social, economic and demographic characteristics of the population. We are thus able to develop mathematical models which express the relationships between travel behavior (number of trips, purpose, mode, length, etc.), and individual and household characteristics (age, sex, income, occupation, stage in the family life cycle, housing type and density, etc.). These models will be used to predict future travel demands on the basis of population and economic projections and alternative spatial distributions of people and activities in response, to different land use patterns, facility systems and governmental policies.

The following data were gathered:

Travel Data.—Every trip by each member of the household over the age of 5: Origin and destination, time of departure and arrival, travel mode, purpose, type of parking if an auto trip. Individual information for each household member over the age of 5: Age, sex, occupation, and whether he has a drivers license.

Household Information.—Family income, autos owned and available, home ownership and type of housing for the household and sex, marital status, race, occupation, and educational attainment of head of household.

These data have been stored on tape and programs have been developed which permit retrieval and cross-tabulation of the information.

TALUS has produced tabulations comparing significant characteristics of the white and Negro population for four areas:

A. The largest part of that area of the city within which the July 23-30, 1967 riots occurred.

B. The area within Grand Boulevard (excluding the CBD and Lafayette Park), a predominantly Negro poverty area.

C. The City of Detroit.

D. The Detroit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (Wayne, Oakland and Macomb Counties).

The next section of this paper discusses the comparisons between the white and Negro populations within and among the *last three* of these four areas; the poverty area, inside Grand Boulevard; the entire City of Detroit; and the Detroit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, (Wayne, Oakland and Macomb Counties).

II. COMPARISON OF SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATIONS RESIDENT WITHIN: DETROIT'S GRAND BOULEVARD, THE CITY OF DETROIT, THE DETROIT SMSA

The income and educational attainment of Detroit Negroes living inside Grand Boulevard are only slightly below that of their white neighbors.

Throughout the City of Detroit, Negroes have somewhat lower educational achievement, but earn almost as much as white Detroiters.

But there are dramatic differences in educational attainment and especially in income between the white and Negro population of all Wayne, Oakland and Macomb Counties.

We have extracted information from our files comparing white and Negro households within three areas: inside Grand Boulevard (excluding the Detroit Central Business District and the Lafayette Park area); the entire City of Detroit; and all of Wayne, Oakland and Macomb Counties (technically referred to as the Detroit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area or S.M.S.A.).

The accompanying listings compare white and Negro households in each of the three areas for the characteristics selected.

The picture which is presented is complicated but certain elements emerge clearly. The white population of Detroit is older than the Negro; in only half as many white (20%) as Negro households (40%) is the youngest child under 18. 43% of the heads of white households are over the age of 45 as compared to 29% for Negro households. However, the age distribution of the total white population of the three-county area is about the same as that for the Negro population.

From a standpoint of income, white households in Detroit are more similar to Detroit Negro than to suburban white households; their median annual income is 7% higher than that of Negro families in Detroit, but 34% lower than the median for white households in the three-county area.

In terms of the other major characteristics discussed, however, (sex and marital status of head of household, home ownership, length of residence, educational attainment and automobile availability) white Detroit households are more similar to white households throughout all of Wayne, Oakland and Macomb Counties than to Negro households in Detroit.

The economic status of both white and Negroes has changed substantially during the last fifteen years, but at different rates. To illustrate this, we have expressed median income of persons over 14 in 1949, 1959 and 1965 in "constant 1958 dollars"—a statistical device which eliminates the effects of inflation and deflation and expresses income in terms of units equivalent purchasing power.

In these terms, median income of Negroes in the three counties declined by 11% from 1949 to 1959. By 1965 median income for Detroit area Negroes had increased to 106% of 1949 income.

Although the absolute economic position of the Negro, in terms of purchasing power, declined by 11% from 1949 to 1959 and then recovered and improved somewhat from 1959 to 1965, this is only part of the picture.

The relative economic position of Negroes as compared to whites, declined even more between 1949 and 1959; and remained almost at a standstill between 1959 and 1965.

Median income of Detroit area Negroes in 1949 was 79% of the median for whites. By 1959 it had declined to 61%. In 1965 it was 62%.

TALUS projections of employment by occupation for future years indicate that the relative economic position of the Negro may decline in coming years as the composition of the job market changes. Blue collar jobs will increase at a very slow rate; white collar jobs, requiring more skills and higher educational attainment will increase at a rapid rate. Unless larger proportions of Negro youth continue through high school and colleges, they will be unable to compete for the better-paying white collar jobs; and even those jobs which are classified as "blue collar" demand more skill and education than in recent years.

III. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DETROIT NEGRO POPULATION RESIDENT WITHIN THE "RIOT AREA" AND CHARACTERISTICS OF ARRESTEES AS AN INDICATION OF THE "MESSAGE"

A comparison of the Negro population living within the "Riot Area" with all Negroes in the City of Detroit shows relatively little difference in most respects.

The percent of households with female heads is almost identical.

The percentage which are married and living with spouse is about the same with only slight deviations in the widowed, single and divorced categories.

The percentage who own or are buying their home is 40% in the riot area and 45% for Negroes in the City as a whole. 42% in the riot area and 43% in the entire city have lived at their present address 5 years or more.

The proportions in each of the "family life-cycle stages" are quite similar.

Educational attainment of household heads in the "Riot Area" is higher.

Median Negro household income in the "Riot Area" is \$6,200—for the whole city it is \$6,400—with the percentage distribution quite similar.

Automobile availability is somewhat higher for Negro households in the "Riot Area" than for Negro households throughout the city.

On the other hand, Negroes living within the "Riot Area" are substantially better off in every respect than Negroes inside the Boulevard.

For example, median annual incomes of Negro households within the Boulevard is \$3,640, compared to \$6,200 in the "Riot Area."

We were able to tabulate these data shortly after the conclusion of the riots. Since the conclusions are substantially at variance with the "riff-raff" theory—the conventional wisdom—about riots, we began to seek more direct information on the characteristics of riot participants. Although it seemed likely, we could not safely assume that the characteristics of the riot participants were the same—or even similar to—the characteristics of the residents of the riot areas.

We have learned informally that about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the persons treated for injuries during the rioting (mostly lacerations, which were presumably from participation in looting) at a private hospital within the riot area were covered by hospitalization insurance.

A survey conducted by the Detroit Free Press indicated that 80% of the male arrestees were employed and that their average wage was about \$6,000 per year.

Detroit Police Department arrest records show that only about 10% of the Negroes arrested were juveniles; 18% between 17 and 19; 24% between 20 and 24; 17% 25-29; 31% over 30.

Data gathered by the University of Detroit which surveyed all male arrestees taken to Jackson Prison show 83% employed, 40% of these by the 3 major auto companies and an equal percentage by other large (and unionized) employers. No income data was gathered but incomes of \$6,000 and more per year can be assumed.

The University of Detroit data also shows that a preponderance of the male arrestees were married and living with spouse and about $\frac{2}{3}$ had no previous arrests. Only about half as many owned or were buying their own homes as for all Negroes in Detroit.

The "riff-raff" theory would describe the rioters as teen-agers, dropouts, criminals; the unemployed, uneducated, unskilled, poorly-housed.

The picture which emerges, however, is totally different; young adults, not living in slum housing, with good jobs paying average wages; relatively few with extensive criminal records and most being members of families—not single "drifters."

Those whom the conventional wisdom would cast as rioters—people at the bottom rungs of the social and economic scale—were not involved to any large extent. They were more likely so cowed and passive that they remained in their homes fearing to be seen on the streets. And perhaps wisely so, since people who conformed to the stereotype of the presumed rioter might well have been arrested on sight.

It is reasonable to assume that one's perception of his own personal grievances has the most to do with his decision to participate.

Accordingly, it cannot be concluded that jobs and housing were the underlying factors which triggered participation—because the bulk of the participants were housed—perhaps not adequately, but certainly not in the typical rat-infested slums.

And the overwhelming majority of the rioters were employed—in jobs which paid substantially above the poverty level—and only slightly below the median for all residents of the city.

It becomes increasingly clear that the specific "message" of the riots was a demand for dignity—for economic and political power—and for control—or at least participation in—decisions regarding one's future and that of his community.

The data points to the proposition that an individual is more likely to express his frustrations in violence when his position has improved sufficiently to permit him to see how far he has yet to travel to achieve equality.

Revolutions are most likely to occur when things are getting better—but not fast enough.

The 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown vs Topeka*, the Montgomery Bus boycott, the gathering strength of the Civil Rights Struggle have evoked expressions of sympathy and support from the white community. The Negro has been encouraged to demand equality. His aspirations have been raised and he has been promised much. But he has achieved little in the way of equality—as measured against the inequality to which he is subject—and his economic position has improved only slightly in the face of great economic gains by the white majority.

Rising expectations, broken promises, humiliation and indignity and communications media which constantly present the picture of happy, affluent white America as a contrast—these were the ingredients of the urban rebellions of 1967.

We must realize that there are two pies which the white majority must share with the Negro.

The first is the familiar pie which we have been baking badly and distributing inequitably for as long as any of us can remember—it is composed of jobs and education and housing.

The second pie is what last summer was all about—power and dignity and manhood.

If we deal only with housing, education and jobs, we are sowing the seeds of even greater trouble in the future, because we will be placing more and more Negroes in a better position to realize how empty these are without dignity and a degree of control over one's own destiny.

Those of us who were presumed to have some awareness before the '67 Riots were often asked "Will there be a long hot summer in Detroit?" and the usual cautious answer was—"It could happen anywhere—but it's less likely in Detroit because we've done a little bit better job than elsewhere—we have a bit less to be ashamed of."

I am now convinced that those "advances" which we felt made riots less likely in Detroit than elsewhere—were the very factors which made the riots here inevitable—and insured that they would be bloodier, more destructive and more widespread than anywhere else in the country.

And I am not convinced that we have begun to take the steps necessary to prevent a recurrence of trouble next summer.

The "riff-raff" theory is more comfortable; because we know how to build housing and we can always provide jobs and schools somehow.

But last summer brought us a lower middle-class rebellion. We can put down these rebellions temporarily, with some loss of life and property, with more police and guns and fire engines and tear gas.

But if we are to eliminate the tension, frustration and hostility which underlies the violence, we must demonstrate to the Negro that equality of opportunity is a fact and that we will deliver on our promises.

Certain specific programs, in addition to those which will provide decent jobs and training; education and an adequate supply of housing—especially for large and for low-income families—are:

1. A state-wide open housing law—not because it will have a material affect on living patterns for many years, but because of its symbolic value.
2. Provision of low—or no-interest loans—coupled with training and continuing counsel to enable more Negroes to become entrepreneurs.
3. Provision of funds—from non-governmental sources—to enable neighborhood organizations to hire their own planners, traffic experts, educators, etc., to permit them to adequately evaluate plans and proposals developed by governmental agencies; prepare their own plans or counter proposals and have a hand in shaping the future of their schools and neighborhoods.
4. Election of no more than half of the members of the Common Council from districts with provision of neighborhood offices and staff for the district Councilmen; enlargement of the size of the Council if necessary to accomplish this.
5. A similar re-structuring of the Detroit Board of Education.
6. Provision of a large—but limited amount of money—from non-governmental sources on an annual basis to be allocated among existing organizations for specific programs developed by them.
7. A conscious and deliberate effort to avoid any actions or statements which could be construed as an attempt to select a leader or leaders for the Negro community; or to either stimulate or discourage the development of new organizational structures within the Negro Community.
8. Acceleration of the City's efforts to provide neighborhood centers—not associated with any poverty program—where citizen complaints about all departments and agencies of Federal, State and City Government can be heard, referred to the proper agency and followed up.

These are a few steps—combined with an accelerated anti-poverty program—a job training program—a job recruitment and placement program, a public housing program and improvement in all phases of educational services—which are the minimum necessary to demonstrate good faith and the intent to keep our promises and to perhaps stave off a recurrence of last summer.

Characteristic	Inside Grand Boulevard	City of Detroit	Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties
Head of household is male.	Negro households have a smaller percent with male heads (68 percent) than white households (73 percent).	About the same; 78 percent of white and 76 percent of Negro households have males as the head.	86 percent of white households have male compared to 76 percent for Negro households.
Head of household married and living with spouse.	Negro households rank slightly better in this comparison with 52 percent as compared to 47 percent for white households but 16 percent of Negro compared to 11 percent of whites are divorced or separated; 25 percent of Negro and 14 percent of white household heads are single with 18 percent Negro and 19 percent white widowed.	White and Negro percentages are 68 percent and 62 percent for married and with spouse but whites divorced or separated are 4.5 percent compared to 13.4 percent for Negro; 18 percent of white and 12 percent of Negro household heads are widowed with 90 percent of both single.	Much less favorable for Negro households with only 67 percent married and with spouse compared to 80 percent for white. 13.2 percent of Negro heads are divorced or separated compared to 3.5 percent for white; 11 percent of white and 12 percent of Negro households are widowed with 6 percent of white and 8 percent of Negro single.
Own home or are buying.	White households are slightly better off with 29 percent in this category as compared to 26 percent for Negro.	White households are more favorably situated with 69 percent compared to 45 percent of Negro households.	White households have a substantially higher percentage in this category (79 percent) than Negro households (47 percent).
Same residence for 5 or more years.	51 percent of white and 48 percent of Negro households.	The Negro households are more mobile with only 43 percent in this category compared to 66 percent for white.	Though a larger proportion of white (61 percent) than Negro (44 percent) households are in this category, the lower ratio as compared to the Detroit comparison reflects the high growth rate of white households outside of Detroit in the last 5 years.
Household includes children under 18.	40 percent of Negro households but only 20 percent of white households include children under 18.	Children under 18 are included in 49 percent of Negro households but only 34 percent of white households, reflecting a much younger Negro than white population.	The same percentage of both white and Negro households (51 percent) are in this category; the age distribution is about the same for the white as for the Negro population of the SMSA as a whole.
Educational attainment of head of household.	Educational attainment in this area is quite low with 80 percent of Negro and 67 percent of white heads of household having less than a high school degree; high school graduates: White, 19 percent; Negro, 14 percent; some college: White, 8 percent, Negro, 4 percent; college graduate: White, 5 percent, Negro, 2 percent.	Educational attainment of Negro heads of household compares less favorably for the city. Less than high school: White, 49 percent, Negro, 66 percent; high school graduates: White, 29 percent, Negro, 22 percent; some college: White, 13 percent, Negro, 8 percent; college graduates: White, 9 percent, Negro, 4 percent.	The disparity in educational attainment is even greater here: Less than high school: White, 42 percent, Negro, 66 percent; high school graduates: White, 31 percent, Negro, 22 percent; some college: White, 14 percent, Negro, 8 percent; college graduates: White, 13 percent, Negro, 4 percent.
Annual household income.	The income of Negroes is only slightly below that of their white neighbors, with a little more than half of both white and Negro households having annual incomes under \$4,000; about 41 percent earning between \$4 and \$10,000; and about 5 percent over \$10,000 per year. Median income for Negro households is \$3,640; for white, \$3,890 per year.	Annual household income for Negroes in Detroit is lower than for whites but not a great deal; 25 percent of whites and 33 percent of Negroes earn less than \$4,000 per year; 16 percent of whites and 22 percent of Negroes between \$4,000 and \$6,000; 37 percent of whites and 34 percent of Negroes between \$6 and \$10,000 per year; 15 percent of whites and 8 percent of Negroes are in the \$10 to \$15,000 bracket with 6 percent of whites and 2 percent of Negroes earning more than \$15,000 annually. Median income for whites is \$6,850; for Negro households \$6,400 annually.	More than twice as large a proportion of Negro households than white earn less than \$4,000 per year; Negro, 33 percent, White, 15 percent. Nearly twice as large a percentage of Negro families (22 percent) as white (12 percent) earn from \$4 to \$6,000 per year. Only 34 percent of Negro families compared to 41 percent of white earn between \$6 and \$10,000 per year with 12 percent of Negro and 32 percent of white households having an annual income in excess of \$10,000. Median income for Negro households is \$5,640 as compared to \$9,160 per year for white households.

Characteristic	Inside Grand Boulevard	City of Detroit	Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties
Automobiles available to the household.	More than half—56 percent of Negro and 52 percent of white households—have no auto available; 40 percent of white and 35 percent of Negro families have 1 car with only 8 percent and 9 percent respectively having 2 or more cars.	35 percent of Negro and 22 percent of white households have no car; with 46 percent of Negro and 50 percent of white families having 1 car and 19 percent of Negro and 28 percent of white households having 2 or more cars.	Three times as many Negro as white households have no car; 34 percent to 11 percent. About the same percentage (46 percent Negro, 48 percent white) have 1 car available with 18 percent Negro and 34 percent of white families having 2 cars. Three times as large a proportion of white families have 3 or more cars; white, 6.5 percent, Negro, 2.2 percent.

TABLE 1.—SEX AND MARITAL STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS FOR THE WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATION OF THE AREA OF CIVIL DISTURBANCE¹ AND COMPARATIVE AREAS, 1965²

[In percent]

	Area of civil disturbance		Inner Boulevard Area ³		City of Detroit		SSMA ⁴	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
SEX OF HEAD								
Total, all household heads....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male.....	53.7	76.7	72.8	67.8	77.7	75.8	85.7	76.1
Female.....	46.3	23.3	27.2	32.2	22.3	24.2	14.3	23.9
Number.....	(423)	(1, 675)	(832)	(1, 267)	(11, 974)	(5, 199)	(34, 975)	(5, 893)
MARITAL STATUS OF HEAD								
Total, all household heads....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Married.....	38.3	67.1	45.1	52.2	68.4	66.2	79.7	66.9
Widowed.....	18.7	8.4	19.4	17.7	18.1	11.6	11.3	11.5
Divorced or separated...	7.1	14.4	10.8	16.3	4.5	13.4	3.5	13.2
Single.....	35.9	10.1	24.7	13.8	9.0	8.8	5.5	8.4
Number.....	(423)	(1, 675)	(832)	(1, 267)	(11, 974)	(5, 199)	(34, 975)	(5, 893)

¹ Census Tract Area D, bounded by West McNichols on the north, Livernois on the west, West Grand Blvd. on the south,^{*} Woodward and Highland Park city limits on the east.

² Data from the TALUS Travel Survey of 1965, conducted by the Center for Urban Studies, University of Michigan, Dearborn campus. The survey is based on a 4-percent random sample.

³ The Inner Boulevard Area is the region bounded by East Grand Blvd., West Grand Blvd., and the Detroit River, excluding the Detroit C.B.D. and the Lafayette Park Tracts.

⁴ Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties.

TABLE 2.—HOME OWNERSHIP AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE BY HOUSEHOLD FOR THE WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATION OF THE AREA OF CIVIL DISTURBANCE¹ AND COMPARATIVE AREAS, 1965²

[In percent]

	Area of civil disturbance		Inner Boulevard Area ³		City of Detroit		SMSA ⁴	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
HOME OWNERSHIP								
Total, households.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Own or buying.....	36.7	39.7	29.3	26.1	68.9	45.2	78.7	47.0
Renting.....	61.5	58.8	69.3	72.4	30.2	53.5	20.3	51.7
Other.....	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.5	.9	1.3	1.0	1.3
Number.....	(332)	(1,666)	(787)	(1,257)	(11,491)	(5,170)	(34,165)	(5,851)
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE								
Total, households.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
7 weeks or less.....	4.6	6.0	8.9	4.9	4.0	5.2	3.8	5.1
8 to 51 weeks.....	12.8	16.2	14.8	16.2	9.3	16.4	10.6	16.1
1 to 4 years.....	25.6	35.7	25.4	33.2	20.6	35.0	24.7	34.6
5 to 9 years.....	16.2	24.8	15.0	17.8	15.6	20.3	20.2	20.3
10 years or more.....	40.8	17.3	35.9	27.9	50.5	23.1	40.7	23.9
Number.....	(328)	(1,668)	(779)	(1,267)	(11,472)	(5,174)	(34,147)	(5,853)

¹ Census Tract Area D, bounded by West McNichols on the north, Livernois on the west, West Grand Blvd. on the south, Woodward and Highland Park city limits on the east.

² Data from the TALUS Travel Survey of 1965, conducted by the Center for Urban Studies, University of Michigan, Dearborn campus. The survey is based on a 4 percent random sample.

³ The Inner Boulevard Area is the region bounded by East Grand Blvd., West Grand Blvd., and the Detroit River, excluding the Detroit CBD and the Lafayette Park Tracts.

⁴ Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties.

TABLE 3.—STAGE IN THE FAMILY LIFE CYCLE FOR THE WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATION OF THE AREA OF CIVIL DISTURBANCE¹ AND COMPARATIVE AREAS, 1965²

[In percent]

	Area of civil disturbance		Inner boulevard area ³		City of Detroit		SMSA ⁴	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
LIFE CYCLE								
Total, all households.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unmarried, no children, under 45.....	28.4	9.0	11.9	7.6	5.4	6.7	3.5	6.4
Married, no children, under 45.....	8.3	9.4	5.8	5.4	5.1	7.2	5.6	7.0
Youngest child of head aged 0 to 4.....	8.9	23.0	10.6	18.9	15.0	23.1	23.7	23.8
Youngest child of head aged 5 to 17.....	5.7	26.3	9.2	20.8	19.4	26.2	27.1	26.7
Youngest child of head aged 18-plus.....	5.1	7.1	7.0	8.1	12.0	7.7	9.2	7.8
Married, no children, over 45.....	20.0	15.5	19.3	17.1	23.2	16.4	19.1	16.0
Unmarried, no children, over 45.....	26.6	9.7	36.2	22.1	19.9	12.7	11.8	12.3
Number.....	(436)	(1,674)	(831)	(1,257)	(11,942)	(5,187)	(34,904)	(5,875)

¹ Census tract area D, bounded by West McNichols on the north, Livernois on the west, West Grand Boulevard on the south, Woodward and Highland Park city limits on the east.

² Data from the TALUS Travel Survey of 1965, conducted by the Center for Urban Studies, University of Michigan in Dearborn. The survey is based on a 4-percent random sample.

³ The inner boulevard Area is the region bounded by East Grand Boulevard, West Grand Boulevard, and the Detroit River, excluding the Detroit C.B.D. and the Lafayette Park tracts.

⁴ Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties.

TABLE 4.—EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS FOR THE WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATION OF THE AREA OF CIVIL DISTURBANCE¹ AND COMPARATIVE AREAS, 1965²

[In percent]

	Area of civil disturbance		Inner Boulevard Area ³		City of Detroit		SMSA ⁴	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
EDUCATION								
Total, all household heads.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
8 years or less.....	26.8	23.8	42.2	49.0	27.9	35.2	19.9	35.0
9 to 11 years.....	16.3	31.7	25.4	31.4	21.3	31.3	21.7	31.4
High school graduate.....	25.8	27.5	18.7	14.3	29.0	22.1	31.4	22.2
Some college experience.....	16.3	11.3	8.3	3.7	12.5	7.9	14.3	7.8
College graduate.....	14.8	5.7	5.4	1.6	9.3	3.5	12.7	3.6
Number.....	(325)	(1,657)	(773)	(1,251)	(11,355)	(5,148)	(33,869)	(5,21)

¹ Census Tract Area D, bounded by West McNichols on the north, Livernois on the west, West Grand Blvd. on the south, Woodward and Highland Park city limits on the east.² Data from the TALUS Travel Survey of 1965, conducted by the Center for Urban Studies, University of Michigan, Dearborn campus. The survey is based on a 4 percent random sample.³ The Inner Boulevard Area is the region bounded by East Grand Blvd., West Grand Blvd., and the Detroit River, excluding the Detroit C.B.D. and the Lafayette Park Tracts.⁴ Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties.TABLE 5.—INCOME DISTRIBUTION FOR HOUSEHOLDS FOR THE WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATION OF THE AREA OF THE CIVIL DISTURBANCE¹ AND COMPARATIVE AREAS, 1965²

[In percent]

	Area of civil disturbance		Inner Boulevard Area ³		City of Detroit		SMSA ⁴	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
INCOME CLASS								
Total, all households.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under \$2,000.....	21.8	11.2	26.7	30.2	11.9	16.4	6.8	16.1
\$2,000 to \$2,999.....	11.1	8.3	14.9	13.2	7.0	9.5	4.2	9.1
\$3,000 to \$3,999.....	8.5	6.1	9.5	10.2	6.2	7.4	4.1	7.4
\$4,000 to \$4,999.....	10.0	7.5	10.0	10.2	6.3	8.3	4.4	8.4
\$5,000 to \$5,999.....	7.7	13.7	12.7	12.0	9.7	14.1	7.7	13.9
\$6,000 to \$6,999.....	8.5	15.4	7.3	8.8	10.4	13.4	9.9	13.0
\$7,000 to \$7,999.....	8.1	11.0	6.9	6.3	10.9	9.6	11.3	9.8
\$8,000 to \$8,999.....	3.7	6.7	5.1	2.9	8.6	6.0	9.9	6.3
\$9,000 to \$9,999.....	5.9	5.8	2.2	2.5	7.8	4.7	9.6	5.0
\$10,000 to \$14,999.....	9.6	11.3	3.3	2.9	15.4	8.3	22.2	8.5
\$15,000 to \$19,999.....	1.8	3.0	1.1	.6	3.9	1.8	6.1	1.9
\$20,000 and over.....	3.3	0	.3	.2	1.9	.5	3.8	.6
Median.....	\$4,870	\$6,208	\$3,886	\$3,640	\$6,846	\$6,405	\$9,164	\$5,641
Number.....	(271)	(1,441)	(693)	(1,116)	(9,828)	(4,506)	(30,269)	(5,113)

¹ Census Tract Area D, bounded by West McNichols on the north, Livernois on the west, West Grand Blvd. on the south, Woodward and Highland Park city limits on the east.² Data from the TALUS Travel Survey of 1965, conducted by the Center for Urban Studies, University of Michigan, Dearborn campus. The survey is based on a 4-percent random sample.³ The Inner Boulevard Area is the region bounded by East Grand Blvd., West Grand Blvd., and the Detroit River, excluding the Detroit C.B.D. and the Lafayette Park Tracts.⁴ Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties.

TABLE 6.—WORK STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS FOR THE WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATION OF THE AREA OF CIVIL DISTURBANCE¹ AND COMPARATIVE AREAS, 1965²

[In percent]

	Area of civil disturbance		Inner Boulevard Area ³		City of Detroit		SMSA ⁴	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
WORK STATUS								
Total all household heads.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employed.....	47.3	80.7	57.9	57.6	67.7	74.2	79.6	74.4
Unemployed.....	1.2	2.6	4.9	6.2	1.6	3.4	1.0	3.3
Retired.....	19.1	6.0	26.7	16.0	20.4	9.5	12.6	9.4
Other.....	32.4	10.7	11.5	20.2	10.3	12.9	6.8	12.9
Number.....	(423)	(1,675)	(832)	(1,267)	(11,974)	(5,199)	(34,974)	(5,893)

¹ Census Tract Area D, bounded by West McNichols on the north, Livernois on the west, West Grand Blvd. on the south, Woodward and Highland Park city limits on the east.² Data from the TALUS Travel Survey of 1965, conducted by the Center for Urban Studies, University of Michigan, Dearborn campus. The survey is based on a 4 percent random sample.³ The Inner Boulevard Area is the region bounded by East Grand Blvd., West Grand Blvd., and the Detroit River, excluding the Detroit C.B.D. and the Lafayette Park Tracts.⁴ Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties.TABLE 7.—HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF AUTOMOBILES AVAILABLE FOR THE WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATION OF THE AREA OF CIVIL DISTURBANCE¹ AND COMPARATIVE AREAS, 1965²

[In percent]

	Area of civil disturbance		Inner boulevard area ³		City of Detroit		SSMA ⁴	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Total, all households.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None.....	51.5	29.6	52.0	56.1	22.2	35.5	11.3	34.0
1.....	38.1	50.1	39.9	35.0	49.7	45.8	47.8	46.1
2.....	9.0	18.2	6.3	7.7	23.5	16.8	34.4	17.7
3 or more.....	1.4	2.1	1.8	1.2	4.6	1.9	6.5	2.2
Number.....	(423)	(1,673)	(832)	(1,267)	(11,972)	(5,195)	(34,951)	(5,888)

¹ Census Tract Area D, bounded by West McNichols on the north, Livernois on the west, West Grand Blvd. on the south, Woodward and Highland Park city limits on the east.² Data from the TALUS Travel Survey of 1965, conducted by the Center for Urban Studies, University of Michigan in Dearborn. The survey is based on a 4-percent random sample.³ The Inner Boulevard Area is the region bounded by East Grand Blvd., West Grand Blvd. and the Detroit River, excluding the Detroit C.B.D. and the Lafayette Park Tracts.⁴ Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties.

FINANCIAL STATUS, DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS, JANUARY 19, 1971

The present educational program in the School District of the City of Detroit for the 1970-71 school year cannot be financed through June 30, 1971, under the authorized revenue program. Budget receipts, if all estimates are realized, are reported to be \$220,275,000. Outlays to maintain minimum requirements for the full school year are estimated to reach \$249,057,096. This imbalance between the estimated receipts and needed outlays predicts a deficit June 30, 1971, of approximately \$29,000,000.

The following items contribute to this deficit :

A \$10,402, 164 deficit carried forward from the prior year

A \$4,000,000 outlay for free books and supplies

A \$1,199,712 expenditure to finance the first six months operation of the new regions

A \$14,800,000 outlay to finance teacher salary increases negotiated under a two-year contract

A \$4,100,000 outlay to finance a salary adjustment for administrators negotiated following the opening day of school

A \$2,000,000 decrease in revenues if the recommended 2 percent decrease in state aid is applied, further increasing the deficit

The Superintendent and staff have placed heavy emphasis on the necessity of minimizing outlays during the entire school year. Special restrictions on all controllable expenditures for the remainder of the school year will limit outlays to those items necessary to maintain the existing program. While such limitations will provide small budget savings, the annual nature of all school programs will not permit a major overhaul of programs at midyear in such a way that large amounts of funds can be recaptured. Personnel salaries make up the major outlay for all programs. School personnel are under contracts that require, with few exceptions, a full year's salary.

Personnel salaries requires an outlay of \$215,500,000.

Total minimum requirement for Instruction is \$177,714,808. This amount is understated in the adopted budget by approximately \$19,000,000 when negotiated salary adjustments are included.

The salary schedule now in effect is based on the average salary of seven of the neighboring districts. It is not the highest schedule in the area.

In 1969-70, Detroit's average teacher salary was \$11,118, while the average for all Michigan, including rural districts, was \$10,058.

40% of the Detroit staff is at the maximum salary step. More than 60% is at the fifth step or higher.

The number of professionals per 1,000 pupils is 42. Detroit ranged 36th among 49 metropolitan districts.

This ever-mounting annual deficit dramatically illustrates the inflexibility of the present methods of financing the programs and services necessary to meet the individual special needs found in today's school population. A thorough reevaluation of the local tax structure and state school aid formula can provide relief in future years. What Detroit needs now is direct special assistance that will eliminate the projected deficit while providing such additional funds as are necessary to permit the effective implementation of the mandated decentralization program and a court-ordered magnet school plan. A reallocation of the present deficit to the newly organized regions and local units can only produce chaos and unwanted frustrations.

Detroit receives 52% of its total revenue from the local property tax.

Detroit has suffered a cumulative revenue loss of \$91,187,440 because of a series of annual reductions in the state equalized valuation. The present valuation is still some \$362,000,000 less than that of 1960.

Detroit's total tax rate of 57.060 mills is one of the highest in the state, with an additional 2% income tax for city government. A 2% income tax is equivalent to a 14 mill property tax levy. The school operating tax rate of 20.76 mills is slightly lower than the state average school tax levy, 24.7 mills in 1969-70.

The Detroit school allocated tax rate is 8.260 mills with an extra voted 12.50 mills, 5 mills to expire June 30, 1972, 7.5 mills to expire June 30, 1974.

The 5 mill levy produced \$26,531,421; the 7.5 mills produced \$39,797,132.

The State reports Detroit in 1969-70 spent \$756 per pupil, including federal funds. The next twelve largest districts in the state reported \$37.

Detroit schools spent 77.1% of the 1969-70 expenditures for Instruction, 2.56% for Administration. The next twelve largest districts spent 75.89% for Instruction, 3.13% for Administration.

Detroit schools received \$304.13 per pupil in basic state aid in 1969, while all districts, including Detroit, averaged \$312.01.

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DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS—GENERAL FUND

	1969-70		1970-71		1970-71	
	Expenditures	Cost per pupil	Total minimum requirements	Cost per pupil	Budget as adopted	Cost per pupil
Instruction.....	\$152,542,508	\$519.16	\$177,714,808	\$609.72	\$158,700,000	\$544.48
Administration.....	5,312,942	18.08	6,149,542	21.09	5,815,000	19.95
Attendance.....	2,238,907	7.61	2,317,907	7.95	2,239,000	7.68
Health services.....	173,611	.59	173,611	.59	175,000	.60
Transportation.....	2,710,236	9.23	2,928,136	10.04	2,710,000	9.29
Operation of plant.....	24,026,275	81.77	25,544,311	87.63	24,026,000	82.43
Maintenance of plant.....	11,554,695	39.32	12,310,095	42.23	11,000,000	37.73
Fixed charges.....	6,228,825	21.19	4,756,825	16.32	4,760,000	16.33
Capital outlay.....	3,212,909	10.93	3,212,909	11.02	1,000,000	3.43
Community services.....	119,419	.40	119,419	.41	120,000	.41
Food services.....	427,369	1.45	427,369	1.46	430,000	1.47
Other:						
Reserve for tax delinquency.....	3,000,000	1.02	3,000,000	1.03		
Prior year's deficit.....	3,917,880	1.33	10,402,164	3.56	9,300,000	3.19
Total.....	215,465,578	733.32	249,057,096	854.48	220,275,000	755.74

¹ Based on State audited membership for 1969-70 of 293,822.² Based on State audited membership for 1970-71 of 291,469.

DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS 1970-71 BUDGET—GENERAL FUND REVENUE

	Amount	Per pupil ¹
Local sources:		
Tax collections.....	\$113,100,000	\$388.03
Tuition from patrons.....	1,500,000	
Income from investments.....	3,000,000	
Miscellaneous.....	400,000	
Total local sources.....	118,000,000	404.84
Intermediate sources.....	450,000	1.54
State sources:		
State school aid.....	99,000,000	339.06
Driver education.....	550,000	1.88
Vocational education.....	600,000	2.05
Other.....	520,000	1.78
Total State sources.....	100,670,000	345.38
Federal sources ²	1,105,000	3.79
Other.....	50,000	
Total general fund revenue.....	220,275,000	755.74

¹ Based on State audited membership for 1970-71 of 291,469.² Does not include Federal compensatory education grants.

COSTS OF 10 HIGHEST SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN MICHIGAN, 1969-70

District	Current operation expenditures		Total general funds expenditures	
	Expenditure	Rank	Expenditure	Rank
Oak Park.....	\$1,275.54	1	\$1,363.69	1
Dearborn.....	1,148.23	2	1,240.40	2
River Rouge.....	1,084.22	3	1,159.49	3
Watersmeet.....	1,079.71	4	1,114.88	5
East Lansing.....	1,025.07	5	1,080.83	8
Grosse Pointe.....	1,024.59	6	1,144.43	4
Republic.....	1,019.60	7	1,097.28	6
Marenisco.....	1,008.97	8	1,030.36	12
Birmingham.....	1,006.58	9	1,058.67	9
Ann Arbor.....	1,004.12	10	1,091.69	7
Detroit.....	756.02	85	806.71	91

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RANKING OF 10 LARGEST SCHOOL DISTRICTS BY ENROLLMENT IN MICHIGAN, 1969-70

Name	State Eq. valuation (resident)	Federal direct	Current operating expense	Instruc- tional salaries	Percent of operation	Average teacher salary	Percent of operation
Detroit (1)-----	125	29	85	75	73	19	51
Flint (2)-----	104	55	36	42	68	246	51
Livonia (3)-----	148	206	59	47	74	7	55
Grand Rapids (4)-----	90	38	52	51	71	187	49
Lansing (5)-----	109	65	25	18	72	12	57
Warren (6)-----	123	73	68	66	72	99	56
Pontiac (7)-----	81	35	38	22	74	45	54
Saginaw (8)-----	111	-----	84	43	78	76	60
Wayne (9)-----	316	189	58	50	73	37	58
Dearborn (10)-----	7	-----	2	4	66	4	53

DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS PER PUPIL OPERATING EXPENDITURES

Year	Pupil membership ¹	Total operating expenditures ²	Per pupil operating expenditures ³	Per pupil expenditures for instruction from Federal funds ⁴	Per pupil expenditures exclusive of Federal funds
1963-64-----	294, 223	\$124, 067, 302	\$421. 16	\$3. 04	\$418. 12
1964-65-----	296, 094	135, 142, 953	456. 41	8. 81	447. 60
1965-66-----	296, 582	155, 399, 177	523. 96	32. 75	491. 21
1966-67-----	299, 962	173, 780, 221	579. 34	60. 11	519. 23
1967-68-----	295, 907	192, 935, 763	652. 01	58. 24	593. 77
1968-69-----	294, 094	204, 751, 324	696. 21	63. 79	632. 42
1969-70-----	293, 822	222, 135, 425	756. 01	51. 44	704. 57

¹ State audited membership for distribution of State funds.² Includes all Federal programs, excludes social security.³ Average per pupil cost systemwide. Cost reports show approximately 30 percent differential between elementary and high and approximately 45 percent differential between elementary and senior high expenditures.⁴ Unclassified instructional expenditures.

Source: Form B, annual financial report.

DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS DISTRIBUTION OF OPERATING COSTS
[In percent]

	National index 1966-67	Detroit		Michigan 1969-70
		1966-67	1969-70	
Instruction-----	68. 80	75. 68	77. 18	75. 86
Administration-----	3. 84	2. 16	2. 56	3. 61
Attendance-----	. 69	. 88	1. 01	. 34
Health services-----	. 07	. 08	. 08	. 26
Transportation-----	4. 55	1. 01	1. 22	3. 55
Operation of plant-----	9. 51	10. 51	10. 87	10. 30
Maintenance of plant-----	3. 10	4. 05	4. 64	3. 06
Fixed charges-----	4. 00	15. 63	2. 44	3. 02

¹ Social security included in percentage factor for comparability with State department of education Bulletin 1011.

Note: Approximately 88 percent of all operating costs are for personnel salaries. The salary costs are distributed throughout the major budget categories. When drastic economies are necessary, they must be achieved mainly by cutting personnel and, therefore, reducing instructional and other services.

Source: Detroit and Michigan figures from State department of education Bulletin 1011. National figures from National Education Association Research Bulletin.

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DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS—VALUATIONS AND TAX RATES

Year	September membership ¹	State equalized valuation	State equalized per pupil valuation	Local school tax rate for operating
1960-61	285,337	\$5,672,174,774	\$19,879	15.76
1961-62	288,113	5,507,996,411	19,117	15.76
1962-63	291,988	5,285,411,561	18,101	15.76
1963-64	294,223	5,264,577,424	17,893	15.76
1964-65	296,094	5,229,935,894	17,663	15.76
1965-66	296,582	5,196,904,960	17,522	15.76
1966-67	299,962	4,991,121,110	16,639	15.76
1967-68	295,097	4,807,697,930	16,247	20.76
1968-69	294,094	4,925,596,060	16,748	20.76
1969-70	293,822	5,188,215,960	17,657	20.76
1970-71	291,469	5,306,284,180	18,205	20.76

¹ State audited membership for distribution of state funds.

Note: In Detroit, the valuation of the school district declined steadily from 1960-61 through 1967-68. The significance of the decline is shown in the above table, where the total revenue losses are shown annually on a cumulative basis.

Year	Annual revenue loss	Cumulative revenue loss
1961-62	\$2,587,451	
1962-63	6,095,388	\$8,682,839
1963-64	6,423,734	15,106,573
1964-65	6,969,685	22,076,258
1965-66	7,490,252	29,566,510
1966-67	10,733,406	40,299,916
1967-68	17,946,539	58,246,455
1968-69	15,498,975	73,745,430
1969-70	10,046,987	83,792,417
1970-71	7,385,023	91,187,440

DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS—TOTAL PROPERTY TAX RATES

Year	City tax rate ¹	School tax rate	County tax rate	Total local tax rate
1963-64	21.567	16.461	7.100	45.128
1964-65	21.546	16.465	7.100	45.111
1965-66	20.930	16.469	7.100	44.499
1966-67	21.065	16.761	7.100	44.926
1967-68	23.972	22.132	7.100	53.204
1968-69	23.369	22.504	7.100	52.973
1969-70	24.793	22.860	7.100	54.753
1970-71	27.100	22.860	7.100	57.060

¹ City rate includes 0.640 for libraries.

Note: While school property taxes have increased to nearly equal city property taxes, the schools get no benefit from the additional 2 percent income tax which goes entirely to the city.

DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS—TAX RATES

Year	Allocated millage	Voted millage	Debt retirement	Total
1955-59	8.310	4.500		12.810
1963-64	8.260	7.500	0.701	16.461
1964-65	8.260	7.500	.705	16.465
1965-66	8.260	7.500	.709	16.469
1966-67	8.260	7.500	1.001	16.761
1967-68	8.260	12.500	1.372	22.132
1968-69	8.260	12.500	1.744	22.504
1969-70	8.260	12.500	2.100	22.860
1970-71	8.260	12.500	2.100	22.860

Note: 1 mill=\$1 on each \$1,000 of assessment.

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DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS

INCOME FROM LOCAL PROPERTY TAX FOR OPERATING PURPOSES

Year	State equalized valuation	8.26 mills	7.50 mills	5 mills	Total	Per pupil
1960-61	\$5,672,174,774	\$46,852,164	\$42,541,310		\$89,393,474	\$313.29
1961-62	5,507,996,411	45,496,050	41,309,973		86,806,023	301.29
1962-63	5,285,411,561	43,657,499	39,640,587		83,298,086	285.27
1963-64	5,264,577,424	43,485,410	39,484,330		82,969,740	281.91
1964-65	5,229,935,894	43,199,270	39,224,519		82,423,789	278.37
1965-66	5,196,904,960	42,926,435	38,976,787		81,903,222	276.15
1966-67	4,991,121,110	41,226,660	37,433,408		78,660,068	262.23
1967-68	4,807,697,930	39,711,584	36,057,734	\$24,038,489	99,807,809	337.29
1968-69	4,925,596,060	40,685,423	36,941,970	24,627,980	102,255,373	347.65
1969-70	5,188,215,960	42,854,664	38,911,620	25,941,079	107,707,363	366.44
1970-71	5,306,284,180	43,829,907	39,797,132	26,531,421	110,158,460	377.94

INCOME FROM LOCAL PROPERTY TAX FOR DEBT RETIREMENT

Year	Rate	Total	Per pupil	Year	Rate	Total	per pupil
1960-61	0.21	\$1,191,156	\$4.17	1966-67	1.00	\$4,991,121	\$16.63
1961-62	.38	2,093,038	7.26	1967-68	1.37	6,586,546	22.25
1962-63	.64	3,382,663	11.58	1968-69	1.74	8,590,239	29.20
1963-64	.70	3,685,204	12.52	1969-70	2.10	10,895,253	37.06
1964-65	.71	3,713,254	12.54	1970-71	2.10	11,143,196	38.23
1965-66	.71	3,689,802	12.44				

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STATE AID—PER PUPIL ALLOWANCE

	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
Membership:						
Statewide.....	1,917,851	1,968,403	2,033,982	2,079,616	2,122,915	2,164,386
Statewide less Detroit.....	1,621,757	1,671,821	1,734,020	1,783,709	1,828,821	1,870,564
Detroit.....	296,094	296,582	299,962	295,907	294,094	293,822
Total State aid, special and basic formula:						
Statewide.....	\$382,813,194.00	\$447,846,239.00	\$527,440,854.00	\$554,506,022.00	\$605,436,841.00	\$662,308,053.00
Per pupil.....	199.61	227.52	259.31	266.63	285.19	306.00
Statewide less Detroit.....	331,527,451.00	389,949,518.00	457,452,617.00	479,100,000.00	531,360,503.00	583,640,332.00
Per pupil.....	204.42	233.25	263.81	268.60	290.54	312.01
Detroit.....	51,285,743.00	57,896,721.00	69,988,237.00	77,600,000.00	74,076,338.00	78,667,721.00
Per pupil.....	173.21	195.21	233.32	262.24	251.87	267.73
Basic formula and sec. 17:						
Statewide.....	(1)	412,435,985.00	468,565,459.00	498,943,438.00	545,142,207.00	603,270,056.00
Per pupil.....	(1)	209.53	230.37	239.92	256.78	278.72
Statewide less Detroit.....	(1)	358,540,556.00	404,893,520.00	428,943,438.00	470,866,093.00	522,142,997.00
Per pupil.....	(1)	214.46	233.50	240.47	257.46	279.13
Detroit.....	48,087,594.00	53,895,429.00	63,671,939.00	70,000,000.00	74,276,114.00	81,127,059.00
Per pupil.....	162.41	181.72	212.27	236.56	252.55	277.05
Basic formula:						
Statewide.....	(1)	409,929,721.00	461,115,791.00	484,684,580.00	534,142,207.00	590,270,056.00
Per pupil.....	(1)	208.25	226.71	233.07	251.60	272.71
Statewide less Detroit.....	(1)	358,207,327.00	402,055,703.00	422,894,380.00	466,910,985.00	517,084,624.00
Per pupil.....	(1)	214.26	231.86	237.09	255.30	276.43
Detroit.....	47,799,240.00	51,722,394.00	59,060,088.00	61,800,000.00	67,231,222.00	73,185,432.00
Per pupil.....	161.43	174.39	196.89	208.85	228.60	249.08

Source: State Department of Education, Bureau of Administrative Services.

1 Figures not available.

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DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS: SOME PERSONNEL FACTS, 1968-69

Employees, 18,431: 12,815 instructional (4,679 men, 8,136 women); 5,616 non-instructional (2,523 men, 3,093 women).

Highest degrees earned (instructional personnel): 7.15 percent, none; 51.02 percent, BA; 40.72 percent, MA; 1.05 percent Doctorate.

There were 42.84 instructional staff members per 1,000 pupils. Detroit ranked 36th among 49 metropolitan area districts (14th from the bottom). Highest was 69.54, lowest 36.22, median 47.06.¹ (50 per 1,000 is a reasonable ratio for quality education.)

In June, 1970, there were:

Elementary pupils on half-day sessions (not including kindergarten), 0.

Junior high pupils on half-day sessions, 0.

Senior high pupils on half-day sessions, 0.

Pupils in temporary buildings, 9,565.

Pupils in buildings to be rehabilitated or obsolete buildings, 16,708.

Transported pupils, 2,463.

Dropouts from grades 9-12 (1967-68), 7,280.

¹ Source: Detroit Metropolitan Bureau of Studies, December 1969.

THE COST OF EDUCATION INDEX 1957-71

1957-59 (aver- age)	Average cost per pupil (EPU)					Percent of net current expenditures				
	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65
\$10.70 Administration	\$15.45	\$16.70	\$18.75	\$20.98	\$22.61	\$25.30	3.9	3.8	4.0	3.9
Professional salaries	7.60	8.30	9.40	10.53	10.40	11.50	1.9	1.9	2.0	1.8
Clerks and secretaries	4.40	4.95	5.45	6.18	6.54	7.62	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Other expenditures	3.45	3.45	3.90	4.27	5.67	6.18	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0
170.80 Instruction	317.10	342.80	364.35	404.75	449.23	506.35	79.0	78.8	78.4	77.2
Classroom teachers	260.40	280.90	298.30	328.63	364.20	404.22	64.9	64.6	64.2	62.6
Other professionals	28.10	32.10	34.65	40.82	46.04	53.67	7.0	7.4	7.4	7.9
Clerks and secretaries	6.40	7.50	8.00	9.97	11.85	14.28	1.6	1.7	1.7	2.0
Textbooks	4.90	4.95	5.10	5.58	5.75	7.19	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1
Other teaching materials	11.80	13.70	14.75	15.08	15.66	18.84	2.9	3.2	3.2	2.7
Other expenditures	5.50	3.65	3.75	4.67	5.73	8.15	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.2
Health	2.50	3.00	3.30	3.36	3.66	4.65	.6	.7	.9	.6
Professional salaries	2.15	2.20	2.50	2.97	3.21	4.00	.5	.5	.5	.5
Other expenditures	.35	.80	.80	.39	.45	.65	.1	.2	.2	.1
Operation	38.25	41.35	42.15	45.87	50.91	58.00	9.5	9.5	9.1	8.7
Custodial salaries	20.90	22.95	24.75	26.26	28.57	32.46	5.2	5.3	5.3	4.9
Heat	5.70	6.20	6.45	6.16	7.18	6.86	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.2
Utilities other than heat	7.35	8.60	9.10	9.50	10.50	11.55	1.8	2.0	2.0	1.8
Other expenditures	4.30	3.60	1.95	3.95	4.66	7.13	1.1	1.4	1.5	.8
Maintenance	12.50	13.50	14.75	15.41	17.19	19.35	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.0
Maintenance salaries	4.15	4.70	5.50	5.51	6.45	7.14	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1
Other expenditures	8.35	8.80	9.25	9.90	10.74	12.21	2.1	2.0	2.0	1.9
Fixed charges	15.60	17.40	20.80	25.42	36.42	51.35	3.9	4.0	4.5	6.3
Retirement funds	9.55	10.75	13.85	17.98	25.31	38.00	2.4	2.5	3.0	4.4
Other expenditures	6.05	6.65	6.95	7.44	11.11	13.35	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.9
Other services	1.10	2.25	6.00	6.1	1.59	2.00	1	1	1	3
Net current expenditures	401.50	435.00	465.00	516.40	581.61	667.00	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Transportation	18.80	19.80	20.75	23.04	25.27	28.68	4.7	4.6	4.5	4.3
Salaries	6.30	5.35	8.15	8.98	10.10	11.34	1.6	1.2	1.8	1.7
Other	12.50	14.45	12.60	14.06	15.17	17.34	3.1	3.4	2.7	2.6
Capital outlay	12.00	12.50	12.60	11.25	12.75	16.01	3.0	2.9	2.7	2.4
Debt service	45.65	47.60	48.50	50.08	54.17	64.50	11.4	10.9	10.4	9.7
Total expenditures	477.95	514.90	546.85	600.77	673.80	776.19				
306.10										

10074

COST OF CONDUCT OF SCHOOLS—YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1970

	Amount	Percent of total
Instruction:		
Salaries:		
Supervisors.....	\$5,723,511.57	2.54
Principals.....	10,999,165.32	4.88
Teachers.....	133,493,137.32	59.18
Clerical and others.....	13,344,729.14	5.92
Supplies, textbooks, and other expense.....	6,419,769.69	2.84
Total, instruction.....	169,980,313.04	75.36
Operation:		
Salaries:		
Custodial personnel.....	10,753,904.43	4.77
Heating personnel.....	7,148,619.05	3.17
Others.....	1,144,320.44	.50
Other expense.....	5,880,026.57	2.61
Total, operation.....	24,926,870.49	11.05
Maintenance:		
Salaries.....	6,773,358.88	3.00
Other expense.....	3,762,722.35	1.67
Total, maintenance.....	10,536,081.23	4.67
Administration:		
Salaries:		
Administrative personnel.....	1,854,055.19	.82
Clerical and other personnel.....	3,192,686.22	1.42
Other expense.....	726,834.25	.32
Total, administration.....	5,773,575.66	2.56
Fixed charges:		
Employee benefits.....	5,580,416.58	2.47
Other fixed charges.....	2,308,323.94	1.03
Total, fixed charges.....	7,888,740.52	3.50
Other services (pupil transportation, attendance services, etc.):		
Salaries.....	3,157,347.10	1.40
Other expense.....	3,298,026.32	1.46
Total, other services.....	6,455,373.42	2.86
Total, cost of conduct of schools.....	225,560,954.36	100.00

10075

**COST OF CONDUCT OF SCHOOLS (EXCLUDING SPECIAL PROGRAMS FINANCED BY FEDERAL AND STATE GRANTS)—
YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1970**

	Amount	Percent of total
Instruction:		
Salaries:		
Supervisors.....	\$3,016,675.49	1.48
Principals.....	10,881,247.82	5.33
Teachers.....	126,621,285.83	62.09
Clerical and others.....	7,848,931.01	3.85
Supplies, textbooks and other expense.....	4,692,839.77	2.30
Total, instruction.....	153,060,979.92	75.05
Operation:		
Salaries:		
Custodial personnel.....	10,457,773.91	5.13
Heating personnel.....	7,148,619.05	3.51
Others.....	1,088,231.97	.53
Other expense.....	5,772,856.49	2.83
Total, operation.....	24,467,841.42	12.00
Maintenance:		
Salaries.....	6,653,202.17	3.26
Other expense.....	3,762,450.04	1.85
Total, maintenance.....	10,415,652.21	5.11
Administration:		
Administrative personnel.....	1,620,986.93	.79
Clerical and other personnel.....	2,775,183.00	1.36
Other expense.....	711,938.39	.35
Total administration.....	5,108,108.32	2.50
Fixed charges:		
Employee benefits.....	4,050,654.78	1.99
Other fixed charges.....	1,170,601.53	.57
Total, fixed charges.....	5,221,256.31	2.56
Other services (pupil transportation, attendance services, etc.):		
Salaries.....	2,788,344.09	1.37
Other expense.....	2,881,504.61	1.41
Total, other services.....	5,669,848.70	2.78
Total, cost of conduct of schools.....	203,943,326.88	100.00

MINORITY GROUP ACTIVITIES AT CHRYSLER CORP.

URBAN AFFAIRS OFFICE, SEPTEMBER 1971

INTRODUCTION

"Among all the critical challenges facing us as Detroiters and as Americans, none is more pressing than the need to build a better society for all men, to work toward a universal betterment of the human condition.

"All of us remember when this city, as many another American city, was seared by the flames of some savage discontent within the hearts of a surprising number of its citizens . . . our national economy was rocketing along at a record pace, yet many thousands of our citizens were either unemployed or under-employed. They were literally shut out of our history's most affluent society."

These remarks were made in September, 1970 by Lynn A. Townsend, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Chrysler Corporation, and then Chairman of the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) at a meeting in Detroit when he launched the JOBS 70 (Job Opportunities in the Business Sector) program of the NAB.

To meet the problem of the unemployed or underemployed, Townsend said, many businesses, especially in Detroit where Chrysler is the largest employer, responded quickly and independently in late 1967 and early 1968. He said: "They did whatever was necessary to help move people from the backwaters of our society into the productive stream of jobs, paychecks, and personal pride. They threw away the rule book, abandoned the list of qualifications, and ignored work histories. It became axiomatic, again especially in Detroit, that anyone who wanted to work, could work."

"I would like to think that this Detroit area effort was at least in part the inspiration for the inception of the NAB program."

Pointing out that the President of the United States in early 1968 called for a nationwide all-out campaign to solve the problem of the unemployed, Townsend said, "Almost immediately after the Presidential mandate, a nationwide network of NAB offices, manned by hundreds of talented and dedicated businessmen was set up and in operation. It was held together by hairpins and paper clips, but it worked, and it got better as more and more business techniques were applied."

Under the leadership of Townsend as Chairman of NAB and Byron J. Nichols, a Chrysler vice-president, as President of NAB, nearly 24,000 companies across the nation participated in the JOBS 70 effort, including loaning of nearly 800 of their top people to NAB, while continuing to pay their salaries. "In effect, more than three-fourths of the trainees who were placed on jobs were put there at no cost to the taxpayers," Townsend said. By September, 1970 more than a quarter of a million men and women had been placed in jobs made possible through NAB.

In its continuing support of the JOBS program, during 1970 Chrysler hired 9,200 disadvantaged inner-city persons for full-time jobs. In addition, approximately 900 needy young people throughout the United States were provided with temporary summer employment. JOBS training contracts with the U.S. Department of Labor to train 1,500 disadvantaged persons for employment with Chrysler and 1,000 auto mechanics for placement with its dealers were completed in June, 1970. Similar contracts have been renegotiated to hire and train an additional 1,500 corporate employees annually.

In the Detroit area, where Chrysler has its highest concentration of employment and facilities, the company's minority hourly employment was approximately 50 percent at the start of 1971.

Nationally, at the beginning of 1971, 25.8 percent of the company's total employment was black compared with 23.7 percent a year earlier, and 14.4 percent in 1961.

The company has a continuing program to develop, train, and re-train present minority employees to meet current and future manpower needs. This upgrading program affects all employees from hourly, semi-skilled, skilled and salaried to supervisory, management, and executive levels. This program has had outstanding success.

At the start of 1971, 5.7 percent of the company's employees in salaried or higher grades were members of minority groups. This compares with .5 percent in 1961.

About 95 percent of the minority group employees at Chrysler Corporation are Black. The balance are Mexican-Americans, American Indians, and Orientals.

Along with expanding its efforts to provide economic opportunities for members of minorities in its plants, offices and related facilities, Chrysler has provided compensatory opportunity for minority businessmen. Realizing that it was not enough to simply make funds available or to promise minimum markets, Chrysler men have made available their advice and counsel, the know-how developed over decades of doing business. They have contributed personal contact as well as cash, counselling as well as contracts.

The results of these efforts include: use by Chrysler of the services of 25 banks and three insurance companies operated or controlled by minority groups, the establishment of automotive and marine dealerships and parts wholesaler operations by minority businessmen, and sourcing of a wide range of products from minority operated companies. In addition, Chrysler business experience has been a big resource in a cooperative program with an inner-city high school in Detroit where young people are better prepared to succeed in business or industry.

These and other related activities are detailed further in this "Current Report of Minority Group Activities at Chrysler Corporation."

NORTHWESTERN HIGH SCHOOL PROJECT

When basketball stars of an inner-city high school in Detroit enroll on their own time in a class designed primarily for ninth graders—the class must be outstanding.

The reading improvement class at Northwestern High School is so unique and effective that a number of senior students including athletic stars have gladly enrolled to better prepare for their college studies or non-college careers. In addition, third through seventh grade students from nearby feeder schools are taught in the reading clinic after regular school hours.

All freshmen students at Northwestern are required to take the reading program for nine weeks each semester of the ninth grade. During the first nine weeks of this year's spring semester, 220 students took the course. During the second nine weeks of the semester there were 289 students enrolled.

The reading program developed by Mrs. Ruby Gillis, reading coordinator at Northwestern, has seen reading skills of some students improve as much as three to three and one-half grades during one academic year.

This reading program is a direct outgrowth of the cooperative assistance program between Northwestern High School and Chrysler Corporation which began in January, 1968.

The primary goal of the comprehensive cooperation program, worked out in advance by officials from Chrysler and Northwestern, is to upgrade student achievement levels and to motivate and prepare Northwestern students for the career of their choice. The program was formally approved by the Detroit Board of Education.

Lynn Townsend, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Chrysler, said at that time: "The job won't be easy but we are prepared to give it an all-out try. If one approach doesn't work, we'll experiment with others."

The program draws upon the expertise and facilities of both the school and the corporation. From the beginning, the approach has been to build a bridge between the world of the classroom and the world of commerce and industry, but not at the expense of overemphasizing vocational education.

The effort, officials explain, is designed to equip students to get jobs with industries of all kinds and not to provide a source of trained manpower for Chrysler Corporation. During the first three and one-half years of the program, fewer than 50 former Northwestern students accepted jobs at Chrysler Corporation.

Chrysler gave the first cash grant to make an expanded formal reading improvement program possible in 1969. The course was offered at 7 a.m. on school days before the start of regularly scheduled classes. It succeeded during the first year with 50 students, a minimum of special equipment, and with Mrs. Gillis and a volunteer Wayne State University professor as team teachers. Chrysler continues to provide financial support for the compensatory phases of the program.

The unique reading program was developed after Mrs. Gillis had spent an eight week summer period in 1968 as a consultant on the reading program for disadvantaged trainees at a Chrysler plant. She said:

"The monitors who conducted the reading program were former secretaries who had gone to the public library for information on reading to supplement the material supplied by a commercial education concern. Although the monitors had not been professionally trained, they impressed me with their ability to group people according to their needs, and their ability to test people.

"Their rapport with hard core people was outstanding. They knew when to stop formal sessions, to let up on the pressure of instruction for a time, then when to resume. Because they were dealing with trainees ranging from college drop-outs to those unable to read "danger" signs in a plant, the program was practical and functional, geared to the trainees immediate needs," Mrs. Gillis said.

"The program motivated these trainees so greatly that some went back to school later. I was able to see what happened to these people and how they acted in the world of work. After my experience at Chrysler, I could better give pupils what they need in the working world without too much time spent on apparently irrelevant things."

The reading program at Northwestern places all students at a level where they can succeed, and then improve. It stresses improvement of basic skills which are assessed before they enter the program, including comprehension, reading speed, accuracy, and pronunciation.

Students in each class, lasting 40 minutes five days a week, are divided into four teams. Each team works to improve a basic skill or skills. A paraprofessional or teacher heads each team.

In a typical class, one team uses tape machines with earphones and an instruction book. On the tape, a speaker introduces the lesson and gives an explanation. For example, the lesson might instruct students in the proper use of a dictionary. Questions are answered immediately and explanations given at once by tape, or by the team leader.

Another team might work at a station using a tachistoscope which flashes words on a screen. Students are required to jot down what they see, to build accuracy and word recognition.

An Aud-X is used by another team. Here, words are flashed on a screen as they are read on a synchronous tape to teach correct pronunciation including consonants, vowels, syllabication, prefixes, and suffixes.

A controlled reading machine that can be used at varying speeds flashes words across a screen to increase reading speed and accuracy.

The classes are conducted in a second floor auditorium in an isolated building on the Northwestern campus where there are no interruptions from students passing in a hallway outside the reading room. Ground floor doors are locked when classes are scheduled to start and tardy students are not permitted to disrupt sessions. Ninth grade students wishing to further improve their reading skills are permitted to repeat the nine week course after approval by their English teachers and counsellor. Senior students take the course during one of their free school study periods to improve their reading skills for college or business courses.

The after school sessions for 45 elementary students are conducted twice each week—one group attends on Mondays and Wednesdays and the other group on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

Much of the equipment used by the high school students also is used in these elementary classes, but greater emphasis is placed on basic skills, including use of games to increase comprehension. Cost of this elementary program which includes the paid services of 17 Northwestern seniors who act as tutors is borne fully by Chrysler.

Reading and English teachers from several other Detroit high schools and elementary schools have visited the classes. Expansion of the reading instruction techniques to other schools is under consideration.

This year at Northwestern, the techniques used in the reading improvement clinic are being adapted to a similar clinic designed to improve the learning of mathematics.

The school's mathematics department devised this program which also is being helped financially by Chrysler Corporation.

James Long, principal of Northwestern, and Wayne Grimm, director of the Chrysler Institute, said the reading-improvement clinic is the most significant program developed in the more than three years since the joint school-corporation project was started in January, 1968. Although as yet unproven, they believe the mathematics clinic will provide equally significant improvements in student learning.

They point with pride to two other programs that were started at Northwestern this summer. One program for 30 boys and girls in the ninth through twelfth grades will provide these students with new insight into possible medical careers, and the other program placed six June graduates in work assignments at Chrysler Motors Corporation dealers in the Detroit area.

The 30 medical careers students, some who have been members of Future Nurses or Medical Careers Clubs, and others who have shown outstanding interest in science classes, spent six weeks at Mt. Carmel Mercy Hospital where they observed the various activities in the hospital's 26 different departments.

The six week tour, headed by two Northwestern teachers, was developed by Northwestern, Mt. Carmel, and Chrysler officials, with Chrysler financing a share of the program and another share financed under a federal government program designed to interest innercity youth in medical careers.

Bernard Walker, administrator of the Chrysler-Northwestern program, said two teachers are paid salaries and each participating student receives \$1.60 an hour for the six hours each day they spend at Mt. Carmel. He said:

"This program is aimed at providing these young people with a better understanding of the areas of medicine in which they have shown themselves to be interested. There is a great opportunity for young people who choose a medical career, especially in inner-city hospitals and related medical care facilities. That is why the schools, the hospital, Chrysler, and the government are actively supporting this medical careers program in which the students are not required to work, but to learn all that they can through firsthand observation."

The six June graduates who worked during the summer in dealership service centers were also provided a more active learning experience. Those interested in an auto mechanics trainee program had an opportunity during the six week period to convince the dealership personnel of their ability and their promise as potential future employees. All became full employees of the dealerships to which they were assigned.

There never has been any effort in the Chrysler-Northwestern cooperative venture to displace or supersede existing, effective methods or approaches the school already had in operation. Major emphasis is placed on the importance of motivating students through teacher-student relationships.

One of the early projects in the cooperative venture was to convert a warehouse into an auto repair shop and classroom. The equipment, which includes floor hoists, a one-ton crane, an engine analyzer, brake lab equipment, battery repair facilities and air tools is now being moved into the school's new vocational education building.

A center for key-punch instruction and data processing which Chrysler equipped and organized continues to be used to provide specific skill training in key-punch operation. This fall, the school plans to train students in how to key-punch cards for the regular student report card marking periods and to perform other useful functions for the school's record keeping including student attendance.

A model job placement office, also established when the joint project was started, continues to prepare students in the procedures involved in simply looking for a job, and at the same time to educate them in filling out applications and taking tests. It helps them pinpoint areas of deficiency and offers counsel on how to best obtain the additional knowledge needed to obtain jobs.

A program established in November, 1968 at Northwestern involves eight Chrysler management people with 40 Northwestern students on a weekly basis. In this program, the management people and students bowl together and spend time discussing possible future careers and other informal counseling. The management people volunteer their time for this program.

There are also a number of other approaches that have been tried since January, 1968. The project is following the path envisioned by corporation and school officials: to upgrade student achievement levels and better prepare students for the career of their choice.

JOB ORIENTATION AND TRAINING PROGRAM

A former parochial elementary school on Detroit's east side houses the counselling phase of the Job Orientation and Training (JOT) program conducted by Chrysler Corporation for entry-level jobs in manufacturing or car assembly plants.

Disadvantaged persons are taught basic elements of work-oriented practices in four weeks at the school and two weeks of hands-on training that follow. Regular and punctual attendance, good attitudes, and sound work performance are job orientation objectives just as they are goals in Chrysler plants.

A JOT executive said: "The training program is designed to impress on the trainees that they share a common humanity. What motivates us—motivates them. We think you demean a trainee if you do not challenge him to meet accepted standards."

The Chrysler JOT program is operated under National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB), Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS), MA-6 contracts with the U.S. Department of Labor in four metropolitan areas. These contracts call for the corporation to hire, train, employ, and retrain disadvantaged men and women in entry level jobs. The current training pace is filling about 1,500 jobs annually, mostly in the Detroit area but with significant numbers in Newark, Del., Belvidere, Ill., and Toledo, Ohio.

By contract, the Detroit area trainees are recruited through the U.S. Department of Labor's Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) which is limited to persons who reside within the boundaries of an inner-city area of Detroit.

Men and women enroll in CEP offices of the Mayor's Committee for Human Resources Development (MCHRD) which are staffed by MCHRD and Michigan Employment Security Commission personnel. Terms of the contracts require that 20 percent of the trainees be women.

Recruits referred to the JOT program visit the former parochial school at Lemay and E. Warren for an interview and to fill out written applications. Next, each applicant is visited at home by a JOT representative and later the applicants appear before a three man screening committee at the school. Finally, all are given a medical examination. If accepted, they are scheduled to report to the school to begin the formal training program.

Under CEP requirements, the training program is open to men and women from 18 to 60 years of age; each trainee must have been out of work for 15 weeks and an unmarried trainee must have earned less than \$1,800 in the preceeding year. About 95 percent of the trainees are members of minority groups. In the Chrysler selection process those who have a correctable physical or mental ailment or have drug or alcohol addiction problems that would prevent them from filling a job, are referred to institutions or agencies that can provide proper assistance. Everyone accepted into the JOT program under the CEP contract becomes a Chrysler employee on their first day in class.

All group counsellors at the JOT school follow an identical format adopted in March, 1971. The group counselling system was pioneered by Al McPherson, manager of program development for JOT, when he was the head of training at the corporation's Twinsburg, Ohio Stamping Plant two years ago.

Ninety percent of the disadvantaged persons trained under McPherson at Twinsburg still are employed at the plant. Until this spring, the retention rate at the key stamping facility was by far the highest achieved in the 25 Chrysler plants where NAB JOBS programs for the hard core disadvantaged have been conducted.

The methods devised by McPherson, a black who learned group counselling by advising street gangs, are employed in regular sessions each day of the four weeks the trainees spend at the school on Lemay.

These group counselling sessions begin with each group of 20 trainees establishing its consensus definition of three words: think, reason, and knowledge. Usually, each group agrees to think is to have mental activity, to reason is to have organized mental activity, and that knowledge is best divided into two major categories: the ideal and the real.

With the semantics of these words established within the group as basic premises the trainee next is asked: What are the two most important events in every person's life? Again, it is agreed by the groups these two events are birth and death, with the time between divided into a scale of years.

With guidance from the counselor, the group agrees the average person can do little himself to achieve success or failure until he becomes about 18 years of age. Until this age is reached, the youth's success or failure is determined almost entirely by the people he lives with and knows. If these are successful people, the average person is geared for success, and if these are people who have failed, the average person is geared for failure.

Then, the trainees agree they are trainees because they have failed. That's why they are eligible to be trainees.

Further, they agree they are trainees because they want a job. And they discuss the chain of success they must fashion if they are to get and keep a job. Links of the chain of success are attendance, punctuality, attitude, job knowledge, and motivation.

Group counselling following this format is used to inculcate in the disadvantaged trainees a desire to succeed.

In other class sessions the trainees are taught how to cope with plant situations that otherwise might cause them to fail. They are told how to handle their paychecks, of deductions from their check, how to use banks and credit unions, and their rights when subject to garnishment. They are taught safety rules, the role of management and of the union and taught the unfamiliar vocabulary used in assembly and manufacturing plants for common parts and pieces of equipment. McPherson explains: "The major thrust of the counselling program is to get the trainee to help himself. We believe this is more vital than improving a disadvantaged person's reading comprehension from the third to the fifth grade or from the second to the sixth grade. The group counselling is based on the belief that once a trainee knows why he is a failure, and adopts the correct reasons for wanting to succeed he'll succeed and even discover there are programs and schools to help him achieve a higher degree of success than an entry level job.

"You must remember these trainees are failures. They haven't been able to hold a job, if they've had one before joining the JOT program. They've been out of work for months, and have never had a steady income.

"We believe training these people how to succeed and to cope with a job in a plant is well worth the effort."

At the end of the first five months after March, 1971 when this new group counseling format became operational in all JOT programs, 90 percent of the trainees placed in plants still were working.

In the JOT program the training group which is continued as a unit through the four weeks at the red school house and during the two weeks of hands-on training, becomes a useful vehicle for effecting attitude change and modifying behavior. Accordingly, group counseling has proved a most successful method of assisting trainees to resolve their individual difficulties.

Absenteeism, tardiness, horseplay, and uncooperativeness, while they manifest themselves as individual problems, most often are dealt with by the entire group rather solely by the advisor.

The Hoover Road Training Center hands-on program provides a further basis for a selection process that determines some talent or preference displayed by the trainee so he can be directed to an entry-level job for which he is best suited.

On the trainees' last day at Hoover Road they become available for job interviews at plants that have requested applicants to fill vacancies. Once accepted for plant employment, they are transferred from their employee-trainee status to that of a probationary employee.

The administration and supportive service of the JOT program has a staff of experts who conduct the original application interview, meet the trainee when he reports to a plant for placement, and provide follow-up services when the employee-trainee becomes a probationary employee. The group counselors visit the homes of the trainees before they enter the Chrysler program.

Because of the success of the Chrysler Corporation JOT program with hard-core disadvantaged individuals, JOT has been asked to include in its six week program clients of the Michigan Department of Vocational Rehabilitation.

Chrysler has contracted with the Department of Vocational Rehabilitation to train 43 individuals in the hope they may find jobs with Detroit area employers. At the end of the training period their Vocational Rehabilitation advisor is given a written report of their progress, special talents and attitude for use in finding them jobs.

In another phase of the JOT program, a staff member is assigned to regularly visit Detroit area probation offices and courts to offer entry into the JOT program to suitable individuals who meet CEP requirements.

This effort has resulted in persons on probation or parole finding new hope for the future as employee-trainees. Judges who have been reluctant to imprison first offenders, or to turn them loose on the street with no job, have found an alternative in the Chrysler program.

The outlying JOT programs at the Belvidere, Ill., and Newark, Del., assembly plants and the Toledo, Ohio, machining plant are conducted in classrooms and hands-on training areas in the plants. These programs are headed by local JOT personnel under the direction of JOT experts in Detroit.

Each of these three training programs is of four weeks duration with classroom work interspersed with hands-on training.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR BETTER JOBS

For years, Chrysler Corporation has recognized that, for many individuals, being underemployed is as bad as being unemployed.

Because of this, Chrysler not only has a policy of hiring minority group employees, it also has made certain all employees have an equal opportunity to move upward within the corporation as they become eligible and qualified for better jobs.

For example, through corporation conducted programs, an employee can move from an entry level job to a better job as an apprentice in one of the skilled trades, as a foreman, or as a semiskilled employee.

Most formal training programs for hourly employees are conducted at Chrysler's Hoover Road Training Center which has a staff of outstanding instructors and managers. Tools and equipment identical to those used in manufacturing plants are supplied at the Center to train new employees and to upgrade current employees. Portable video tape equipment is used extensively in the training pro-

gram for future foremen. The academic program for pre-apprentice training is financed by the corporation's tuition refund program in night and day classes at a community college.

In addition to other training activities which directly benefit minority employees, an innovative special course in the management of supervisors is conducted at manufacturing and assembly plants for plant management at the level of general foremen and above.

Chrysler also has gone beyond hourly levels in its hiring and promotion program. The corporation has minority group representatives in executive positions including those holding positions in public relations, labor relations, systems and data processing, manufacturing development, material control, finance development, engineering, training, computer programming, sales planning, and as manufacturing plant superintendents. In addition, there are minority group management and supervisors in personnel development, facilities engineering, styling, planning, methods and standards engineering, and inventory control. There also are general foremen in skilled trades, material handling and body-in-white departments. The integration of minorities in plants and offices has been company-wide. They are handling responsible administrative staff jobs as well as keyline jobs in the corporation's manufacturing plants throughout the country.

Other members of minority groups have used employment at Chrysler as a stepping stone to starting their own independent business or achieving a desired professional career. They have saved the necessary investment capital in company sponsored savings programs, they have furthered their education at colleges and universities with the help of tuition refund programs, and they have learned the methods and procedures practiced in an established, well-run corporation.

Once minority group employees have started moving upward in the corporation, they do not encounter an arbitrary ceiling on their achievements. Many now hold extremely responsible management and executive positions. Photographs of several successful minority employees are included in this report.

PRE-APPRENTICE TRAINING PROGRAM

At Chrysler 25 years ago, about 85 percent of the apprentices entered training directly from high school. The remaining 15 percent consisted of on-roll Chrysler employees. There was a gradual shift in this entry ratio during the 50s and 60s and by the late 60s it had turned around, so that most entering apprentices were on-roll employees and fewer were newly-graduated high school students.

An investigation revealed why the apprentice entry mix had changed so drastically. Newly graduated high school students weren't entering apprentice programs simply because they couldn't pass the tests. They lacked basic skills in reading, reading comprehension, and mathematics.

It was concluded that the tests were valid, representing the knowledge required to enter and successfully complete the related training aspect of skilled trades apprenticeship. Chrysler training experts also concluded—based on their experience throughout the 60s in Manpower Development Training Programs—that lack of knowledge does not necessarily mean a lack of ability to learn. It was clear too that to increase minority representation in Chrysler's apprentice programs, some form of pre-apprentice training was needed.

Such a company financed program was started in the 1967-68 period. Previously, five out of every 100 persons who were accepted on the apprenticeship waiting list were black. During 1968-69, as the Chrysler program got under way, the minority group percentage rose to 11. For 1969-70, the acceptance rate for minority groups was 23.6 percent. When the pre-apprentice candidates of 1969-70 are combined with the existing apprenticeship waiting list in accordance with their credited service dates, minorities make up 26.8 percent of the first 400 candidates on that list for the highest minority involvement in Chrysler's history. This is a significant percentage when compared to the 25.8 percent of minority employees in Chrysler's total work force.

Seventy percent of those minority workers who successfully completed apprenticeship test requirements in 1970 were workers who attended either Chrysler or United Auto Workers pre-apprentice training programs.

The impact of these programs also is beginning to be felt on up the ladder. During 1970, 20 percent of all accepted foreman trainee candidates were participants in pre-apprentice programs. Further, it has been demonstrated that the trainees and prepared apprentice candidates have a 70 percent better chance of successfully passing the various job tests than those who do not prepare through pre-apprentice training. Employees who have taken the apprentice test and failed frequently are enrolled in the pre-apprentice training program.

Potential minority trainees are sought out regularly on a cooperative basis by the pre-apprentice training office, by UAW representatives, and by management personnel in Chrysler's plants. Those who want to enroll in the program first take a one (1) college credit hour seminar, lasting 11 weeks, which is designed to familiarize them with apprenticeship requirements and what lies ahead if they pursue the training. During the course they are given the California Standard Test to determine their academic needs and are counseled to match their planned academic training with their indicated needs.

The familiarization seminar is broken down like this: three sessions to instill pride in the trainee for his work, his company, and his union, and to indicate to him what apprentice qualifications he must meet; three sessions are devoted to defining the trades, establishing an apprenticeship goal, and showing him how to reach it; one session on correct study habits and test techniques; and four sessions designed to create the motivational and attitudinal interest and drive needed to carry the trainee through the first weeks of academic training. The courses are given in night and day sessions at Highland Park College.

After the familiarization course, each trainee is assigned specific academic subjects based on his need and his ability. Among the courses currently offered are Basic Arithmetic, a 15 week course presenting the basic ideas and processes of mathematics in a practical way; a course in General Educational Development exam preparation in which elementary arithmetic and reading comprehension are brought up to G.E.D. acceptance levels; another course, Essentials of Reading, Arithmetic, and General Mathematics, is designed for trainees who possess ability above the basic skill level who show unreadiness for the level of reading and math encountered in apprentice training. This course provides the essentials of reading, arithmetic, and mathematics in a minimum amount of time.

One of the most popular courses is in Spatial Visualization in which three dimensional objects are made from drawings. This course provides the prerequisites for blueprint reading and mechanical drafting. A tool familiarization course is offered also.

Once these company financed courses are completed, based on the counsellor's evaluation of what the trainee needed, and depending on trade opening dates, the trainee is scheduled to take the apprentice entry exams.

During 1970 counsellors advised 681 Chrysler employees on pre-apprentice training and enrolled 511 of them in the program. In that group are 120 men who have now been accepted for apprentice training after previously failing the test.

FOREMAN TRAINING PROGRAM

A new and innovative supervisory training program for Chrysler employees in entry level jobs has received national recognition from industrial training experts. It is the first attempt to train employees having entry level jobs to become foremen, without regard for academic or technical skills.

The training program to upgrade 400 men and women to foremen is largely funded by a Chrysler contract with the federal government and is aimed at improving the career opportunities of low status and minority group employees within Chrysler plants. Part of the contract, to seek and adopt better ways of conducting such a program, provides that government funds can be used only for new, innovative programs.

The key to the innovating approach is provided at the corporation's Hoover Road Training Center. Here, in small groups, the trainees are exposed to new training methods during a concentrated seven-day session. This period follows immediately after an eight-day classroom training session at the Chrysler Center Line Training Center covering management concepts, practices, and procedures.

Following the Hoover Road sessions, the trainees spend a total of 872 hours of on-the-job training in a Chrysler plant. Mandatory requirements of this phase include eight hours of plant tours and 64 hours of staff and service department assignments. Additional staff and service training is optional, with the balance of hours in the area of inspection, production or material control, depending on which of these three areas the foreman is to be assigned.

The key Hoover Road sessions are conducted by a team of two training experts—one black and one white—who attempt to present the challenges and problems the foreman trainees will meet when they assume their new supervisory jobs.

At Hoover Road the new method of training begins as the trainee group walks to its first meeting with the instructors in an informal classroom setting.

Shortly after they enter the building, the trainees come upon a staged dispute between a black employee and a white employee next to a time clock.

Heated words are exchanged by the two adversaries, the confrontation appears as if it will rapidly lead to an exchange of blows and one man indicates he is about to draw a knife.

After they are confronted by the unexpected interchange, and after the two actors for a moment have withdrawn, the trainees quickly enter their classroom to begin a discussion of what they have just seen, and of what actions they should take if confronted by a similar situation as foremen.

Then, much more discussion of the event is generated by showing the trainees a video tape unobtrusively made of the confrontation and of the trainees reactions to the unexpected episode. This emotional beginning to their seven-day stay at Hoover Road is repeated frequently in many variations during this phase of the training program.

The trainees work with job orientation manufacturing trainees under simulated plant conditions with the portable closed circuit television frequently being used so actions and reactions by the various trainees can be re-examined and critiqued by the two training instructors and the trainees.

Under these conditions, the classroom at the Hoover Road Training Center most often resembles a bull session with chairs arranged in a circle and a free interchange of learning experience quietly, but firmly directed by the instructors.

The program is proving effective. It works because the trainees are exposed to many situations requiring quick, effective problem solving and immediately thereafter, discuss fully the problems which are akin to those they will face when they enter their new jobs.

These new methods being used at Hoover Road were created by Chrysler training experts who got the agreement of top Chrysler management that a new way had to be developed to train employees to cope with the many problems which have made the job of a foreman more complex and demanding than it was only a few years ago.

To qualify for this program, on-roll employees must meet two criteria:

They must be 21 years old, and

They must have had one year of Chrysler service.

The program includes employees who have had many years of experience at Chrysler as well as relative new comers. All must request that they be enrolled in the program, then undergo a review process that includes testing, examination of the candidates record of conduct and attendance, foreman's recommendation, a committee review, and finally, approval by plant management where the prospective trainee is employed.

Normally, the trainees are placed as foremen in the plant where their extensive on-the-job training was conducted. Once they become foremen, they are provided follow-up advice and counselling on a regular basis by three full-time advisors during a 25 week period.

Under the current foreman training program, 90 percent of the men and women who enter the program stay on to become foremen. Of the first 200 who completed the program, 60 percent are black and 40 percent are white.

UPGRADING TO SEMISKILLED JOBS

Chrysler Corporation entry level employees have the opportunity to train for jobs that pay more and are preferred to the jobs in which they have remained since they joined Chrysler.

A continuing program that provides necessary skills for semi-skilled jobs now is conducted at the Hoover Road Training Center.

Currently, in the manufacturing area, 440 employees are scheduled to participate in the semi-skilled upgrader program which is largely funded by the federal government.

Designed to be of greatest help to minority group employees, the program draws trainees from Detroit area car assembly and stamping plants, and includes both orientation and job skill instruction.

The trainees are provided from 40 to 80 hours of job related training in one of four semi-skilled jobs. The jobs and hours of training required for each are: arc welding—40 hours, gas welding—40 hours, metal finishing—56 hours, and torch soldering—80 hours. All of this phase of their training is conducted at the Hoover Road Center which is equipped with arc and gas welding, metal finishing and torch soldering equipment.

The trainees, while at Hoover Road, receive the same hourly rate of pay that they received in their regular jobs.

When they return to their plant, and are promoted, they receive an hourly rate equivalent to the mid-pay scale of their new job and they continue in an on-the-job training program which in all cases totals 43 days of training including time each employee spent at the Hoover Road Training Center.

Trainees picked for this program must meet two requirements:

They must have been employed by Chrysler for a minimum of six months in an entry-level job or near entry-level job.

They must be promotable in accordance with the Chrysler-UAW "Production and Maintenance Agreement," or any applicable local plant agreement.

The current program which runs from March, 1971 to August, 1972, will train 140 arc welders, 100 gas welders, 140 metal finishers, and 60 torch solderers.

Some of the trainees had spent from 10 to 20 years in their present jobs prior to joining the upgrader program.

MANAGEMENT TRAINING PROGRAM

A course in the management of supervisors currently is being given in the company's manufacturing and assembly plants. It was developed by the Management Education Department of the Chrysler Institute.

The program for plant management at the general foreman level or above, is given on company time in five sessions each lasting four hours.

Objectives of the course include providing an opportunity for managers to broaden their knowledge of managing people, resolving people's problems, and achieving a better understanding of the everyday supervisory actions related to the management of people in an industrial or business environment.

For many long term highly successful managers, this one-week course was the first introduction to the formal concepts of behavioral science. The program, conducted by specially trained Chrysler employees from the Chrysler Institute and Automotive Manufacturing Group, blends psychological films, psychological instruments and group discussions to provide the manager with a wide assortment of management tools to help him be more effective in his job.

The program was introduced in Chrysler plants this year to encourage managers to find new solutions for a whole new set of problems that no previous generation of businessmen had faced before. It was started with the knowledge the company that out-competes others in providing a vital, healthy, and satisfying atmosphere for work and personal growth has a better chance of achieving greater success than the company that makes no effort to impart this awareness.

In this period of change and growth, managers are encouraged to understand fully that high quality decisions are not made by men who are afraid to challenge the thinking of their associates, and to accept that the unorthodox approach might well be the right approach.

The course presentation includes: Concept of On-The Job Conflict, Nature of the Human Being, The High Achievement Motive, Interpersonal Relationships, Motivational Theory, The Development of the Manager, The Art of Delegation, Styles of Management-A Tool for Self-Analysis, and Theory of Force-Field Analysis.

The program, in addition to improving the quality of management in a great many instances, has also become a valuable tool for better understanding of minority group employee problems and progress at various levels. It is similar to courses in "Sensitivity Training" offered in some colleges and universities, but is custom tailored for today's management in a highly specialized but constantly changing industrial environment.

PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

In February, 1971, Lynn Townsend, Chairman of the Board of Chrysler Corporation, announced the establishment of an Office of Public Responsibility under the direction of Virgil E. Boyd, vice chairman of the board.

Reporting to Boyd are Byron J. Nichols, vice president—consumer affairs, and S. L. Terry, vice president—environmental and safety relations.

Townsend said the office would be responsible for monitoring and challenging the development of the corporation's policies and recommending programs in the areas of consumer, equal opportunity, environmental and safety affairs. He

said, "The increasing public demand for improvement of the environment and quality of life places special demands on industry for continuous progress in the matters of clean air and water, consumer protection, safety, and equal opportunity. At the same time large companies have a unique opportunity to increase the effectiveness of their contributions to society through more efficient use of their financial, human, and productive resources.

"Accordingly, we are establishing the Office of Public Responsibility to continually review and challenge the corporation's practices in areas of public concern. The office will work to detect opportunities for leadership in areas of environmental improvement and safety, equal opportunity, and consumer affairs.

URBAN AFFAIRS

In November, 1969, the Urban Affairs Department of the Civil Affairs Office was established. For the first time at Chrysler Corporation responsibility was placed in one department for maintaining liaison with both national and local community action organizations, with special emphasis in cities and communities where Chrysler plants and other major facilities are located. The department also works on minority assignments with news media and national and community influence groups.

Albert J. Dunmore, who joined Chrysler Corporation in 1968, as an urban affairs specialist, is manager of the department and is one of the two highest level executives among minority group employees at Chrysler. Prior to joining Chrysler he was managing editor of the Michigan Chronicle and held several reporting and editor-manager positions with the Pittsburgh Courier, Cleveland Courier, and Detroit Courier.

The Urban Affairs Department at Chrysler is responsible for counselling and guiding the company in its actions relative to urban issues affecting both its internal and external environments. Internally, the Department endeavors to keep the needs of Chrysler minority employees constantly before management. Externally, the Department is concerned with the need to keep the company a viable organization in present circumstances, and to have some concept of the social problems the company will face five and ten years hence.

The Civic Affairs Office through the Urban Affairs Department, continues to assist groups concerned with the problems of the inner-city and disadvantaged people in many sections of the United States. The assistance often is in the form of direct contributions and loan of qualified personnel. During 1969 and 1970, the corporation contributed a total of more than \$2,000,000 to minority group organizations and institutions. This sum includes the corporation's continuing financial assistance to New Detroit, Inc. and Northwestern High School. A separate section of this report is devoted to the continuing three year old cooperative assistance program between Chrysler and Northwestern.

Lynn Townsend, Chairman of the Board at Chrysler, is a member of the Board of Trustees of New Detroit, Inc. and has been since its inception shortly after the civil disturbance in Detroit in 1967. He also served as chairman of the agency's Education Committee until early in 1970 when he became chairman of the National Alliance of Businessmen. E. Harwood Rydholm, vice president—civic affairs, has worked closely with Townsend at New Detroit. Chrysler has contributed approximately \$1,500,000 to New Detroit which was created expressly to develop new programs and to encourage existing organizations to overcome the root causes of racial and social disorder. Since 1967, Chrysler has assigned some twenty executives and management people to work for six months or more at New Detroit. The agency, first of many urban coalitions to be formed in the late 1960's, is located in the heart of the area where Chrysler has its greatest concentration of employees and facilities. Other Chrysler executives have served with Economic Development Corporation, Inner City Business Improvement Forum, and PRIME, Inc., a local Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Company (MESBIC).

Financial support has been given by Chrysler to a number of minority oriented organizations and institutions during 1969 and 1970, including the following:

ABC-Independent Schools Talent Search
Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia
CORE
Cranbrook ABC
Cranbrook Horizons/Upward Bound Program
Detroit NAACP Freedom Fund
Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.
 Harambee, Inc., Toledo, Ohio
 Harambee Players
 Higher Education Opportunities Committee, Detroit, Michigan
 Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia
 Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
 National Urban League
 Shaw College of Detroit
 Southern University, Scottsboro, La.
 Tennessee State University, Nashville, Tenn.
 United Negro College Fund
 United Negro College Development Campaign

In addition, financial assistance to New Detroit and to various United Funds in cities and communities where Chrysler has plants and other facilities has helped to fund many other programs to aid the underprivileged and disadvantaged. In San Jose, California, a training program for Mexican-Americans conducted at the Opportunities Industrialization Center was partially funded by Chrysler.

Cars, vans and trucks also are loaned for varying periods of time to many organizations engaged in inner-city projects. Included among these projects are the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Mother Waddles in Detroit, Shaw College, Black Charities and others.

In Washington, D. C. a drugmobile is on loan to the Department of Labor for use in an anti-drug campaign conducted in schools and recreation areas of the nation's capital.

Corporate representatives also serve on boards of a number of organizations which are concerned with inner-city problems, including:

Inter-Faith Action Council
 Detroit Industrial Mission
 Booker T. Washington Businessmen's Association
 Metropolitan Fund
 National Alliance of Businessment
 Economic Development Corporation
 Metropolitan Detroit Citizens Development Authority
 Urban League
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
 United Foundation
 United Community Services
 Inner City Business Improvement Forum
 Ad Hoc Education Committee

In addition, many Chrysler experts have devoted much time and effort to Junior Achievement programs for inner-city youth.

Concerned with police-community relations, Chrysler Corporation has participated in the annual Police Youth Award Program of the Detroit Police Department since 1957. The twin purposes of the program are to form a positive contact between the police department and the high school students and to recognize students who have displayed good citizenship. Because of the success of the Detroit program, which reaches every public and parochial high school graduating class in the city of Detroit, the program has been expanded to Indianapolis, Indiana; Dayton and Akron-Twinsburg, Ohio.

Plant tours, both for teachers and students, are an important and continuing project in many plants of the corporation. For the teachers it serves to open lines of communication for relating work situations to the changing role of classroom instruction in today's world. Students from many inner-city schools are included among those taken on tours and told the value of education in today's industrial society.

The students are also informed as to how a police record can hurt future employment plans and how to properly fill out job application forms.

In a related area, Chrysler began to support the black press with regularly scheduled advertising in 1953 and was the first automobile manufacturer to commit a regular schedule in Ebony magazine.

Press kits for the 1955 model cars, and every year since, have contained photographs of black models. This too, was a first for any automobile manufacturer.

Chrysler in 1962 also became the first automotive manufacturer to retain the continuing services of a black public relations firm.

MINORITY GROUP DEALER TRAINEES AND DEALERS

Chrysler Corporation has a continuing program for minority group automotive dealers and for minority group representatives in training to become dealers.

The dealer training program is tailored to meet the needs of each participant. They are provided experience and skills in all of the various phases of dealership operation including: parts, service, bodyshop, used cars, accessories, new cars and trucks, office management, merchandising, fleet sales, dealership management, and related activities.

The program provides on-the-job training at selected dealerships throughout the country, with each trainee provided the opportunity to learn each facet of the business from a dealer who is an expert in that field.

The seven current trainees and the city in which they are located are: Theron Bell, Buffalo, N.Y.; Bill Bruton, Detroit; Burton Clemons, Detroit; John Hinds, Rockville Centre, N.Y.; Vernon Small, Colorado Springs, Colo.; and Leon Smith, Tucson, Ariz.

The training program is unique and advanced in concept, allowing the trainee to move ahead at his own speed, to get instruction from top qualified people, and to experience a variety of management approaches.

By working in different markets during the program, the trainee has an opportunity of seeing how various managers operate dealerships in several parts of the country.

The trainee role is one of participation in management, not that of an observer. He works only in dealerships that wish to help train someone and also are willing to let trainees make management decisions.

Two of the seven dealer trainees are expected to graduate this year, ready to meet all requirements for operating a successful dealership.

Minority group owned and operated dealerships are located as follows:

A. L. (Red) Bailey, Ebbets Field Dodge, Inc., 1640 Bedford Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11225

D. J. Lambert, Sr., Lambert Chrysler-Plymouth, Inc., 2225 E. Lincoln Hwy., Coatsville, Pa. 19230

Mike Hernandez, Eastside Chrysler-Plymouth, Inc., 326 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022

Herb Stephenson, Friendly Chrysler-Plymouth, Inc., 1855 W. Manchester Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90047

D. M. Thomas, Newark Chrysler-Plymouth, Inc., 980 Broad St., Newark, N.J. 07102

Todd Cochran & Roy Knight, KC Dodge, Inc., 3030 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110

Fred Rhodes & Larry Keever, Rhodes-Keever Motor Co. (DTCP), U.S. Hwy. 80, East, Tuskegee, Alabama

W. V. Allen, Vallejo Chrysler-Plymouth, Inc., 1515 Solano Ave., Vallejo, Calif. 94594

K. C. Dodge is an equal partnership between Todd Cochran (black) and Roy Knight (white). Rhodes-Keever Motor Co., an all-line dealership, is a partnership between Fred Rhodes (black) and Larry Keever (white).

Chrysler Corporation will add other dealerships whenever the proper balance of skill, capital and good location are found. Minority group and white dealer candidates are treated equally. The company's goal is to find the right man for the right location—a place where he has a good market and an opportunity for current and future profits.

Chrysler Marine Division has two minority group dealers who have found opportunity in selling pleasure boats, motors, and other marine products.

James T. Whiting is president of High Flying Boat Sales, 2220 Nichols Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C. and Alfred A. Solomon is president of Atlantis Marine Sales, 17201 Woodland Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

Both are black businessmen who have received franchises within the past two years.

MINORITY MOPAR DIVISION JOBBERS

Since early 1969, 16 members of minority groups have become independent owners and operators of firms franchised by Chrysler Corporation's MOPAR Division.

The independent owner-operators, or jobbers, sell automotive parts, shop maintenance items, and service supplies to automotive repair and service facilities. With MOPAR's total offering, a jobber can meet more than 90 percent of the automotive aftermarket requirements.

The MOPAR Division uses its staff of business management specialists and field force members to find and contact qualifiable prospective jobbers. New jobbers are given invaluable, continuing information regarding stocking, inventory control, bookkeeping, and merchandising.

The Division's program complements the Small Business Administration's "Operation Business Mainstream" which is aimed directly at placing minority group individuals into their own business enterprises.

At MOPAR, activation of minority jobber enterprises has been based on overall business opportunities in the area where the firm is located. In addition, these jobbers encourage minority employment and the retention of capital within minority communities.

Local banks provide major financing for minority enterprises with additional funds coming from such sources as trust companies, life insurance firms and investment organizations. The 16 MOPAR minority group jobbers presently in operation provide ownership and employee opportunities to Blacks, American Indians, and Puerto Ricans. Following are the jobbers:

Butler Auto Parts, Kansas City, Missouri
 Brown's Auto Parts, East Palo Alto, California
 Jacob Auto Parts, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia
 Quality Motor Parts, Junction City, Kansas
 Jones Auto-Parts, Kansas City, Kansas
 Bryant Auto Parts, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia
 North Nashville Auto Parts, Inc., Nashville, Tennessee
 L & M Auto Parts, Denver, Colorado
 C & H Auto Parts, Inc., Detroit, Michigan
 Uni Par Motor Company, Inc., Bronx, New York City, New York
 Galex Automotive Parts, Inc., Newark, New Jersey
 Twin Bridges Motor Parts, Inc., Bettendorf, Iowa
 Cliff's Auto Parts, Seattle, Washington
 Lynn's Auto Parts, Seattle, Washington
 Brown Auto Parts, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia
 AAA-All Automotive Parts and Supply, Monroe, Louisiana

MINORITY SUPPLIERS

Chrysler Corporation's annual payments to suppliers of parts, materials, and services generally exceed one-half its total yearly income.

A large number of these suppliers have a long-lasting relationship, with some dating back to the founding of Chrysler Corporation. However, each year, usually due to new technologies, new materials, or even government requirements, a number of new companies are introduced into this network.

In recent years, the new-comers have included several minority owned and operated businesses. Many black companies have solicited business from Chrysler and they have been counselled on how they could become suppliers. As in other areas there have been successes and failures. But the ones who have been successful in obtaining purchase orders have been offered guidance in procedures; some have received additional help in the form of advance payments; and others have been given technical and on-the-job assistance.

Minority owned companies currently doing business with Chrysler include:

Renmuth, Inc., which is Detroit's largest minority supplier of metal stampings. Chrysler has consigned presses and dies to Renmuth which produces a variety of parts.

Dexter-Calvert Battery Co., which currently handles all of the battery charging requirements for one of Chrysler's major assembly plants in Detroit.

T & M Manufacturing, which operates a welding and repair operation in Detroit.

Community Products of Cleveland, Ohio, which has supplied an increasingly large variety and volume of rubber parts to Chrysler as it proved its capability.

Memphis Tubing, which is a new company in Memphis, Tennessee, that has been funded largely because of a Chrysler guarantee of business. The company is installing equipment to produce tail and exhaust pipes.

In addition, three black owned and operated insurance companies provide a portion of the corporations casualty and group life insurance requirements, and in the past year black contractors have been successful bidders on several minor construction contracts.

Black companies that can meet Chrysler standards for quality production, on-schedule deliveries, and competitive prices, find the auto company a good cus-

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tomer with which to do business. Chrysler purchasing personnel welcome representatives of such established companies and give their solicitation of business every possible consideration.

CHRYSLER SOUTH AFRICA, LTD.

Chrysler Corporation has participated in the automobile market in South Africa for 42 years. In 1929, the corporation first established a dealer network and in 1956 commenced assembling some products in distributor's assembly facilities. In 1959 the present company, a wholly owned subsidiary of Chrysler International S. A. was formed to manufacture and market passenger cars and trucks.

Chrysler South Africa, Ltd., inescapably has become involved in the company's complex racial problems, including the government's solutions of these difficulties.

While Chrysler may not agree with various restrictions imposed by countries where it does business, it is obliged to obey the laws and customs in host countries. In South Africa the government imposes certain racial restrictions on civil rights, job opportunity, job allocations, and some benefits. The government also establishes floors on wages, and sets standards on working conditions and fringe benefits affecting all races.

While adhering to the laws of the Republic of South Africa, Chrysler also has exceeded, sometimes substantially, the minimums established on wages and many benefits. In other cases it has provided extra employee benefits not required by law.

Chrysler South Africa has broadened job opportunities and conducted training to permit employees to take advantage of new opportunities.

Neither Chrysler nor the overwhelming majority of its employees believe that any useful, long-range purpose would be served by the corporation's withdrawal from South Africa. The employees know and can evaluate the progress that has been made. Chrysler intends to continue that progress and to provide all employees maximum opportunity possible within the law.

The established open door policy for these facilities will be continued so interested persons may view these operations first hand.

Chrysler South Africa, Ltd., currently provides employment for 4,500 persons of whom about 60 percent are other than white, and has about eleven percent of the nation's motor vehicle market.

[From the Reporter, Feb. 22, 1968]

ANALYZING DETROIT'S RIOT: THE CAUSES AND RESPONSES

By Irving J. Rubin

In a few weeks, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, chairman of the National Commission on Civil Disorders that was created by the President last summer, will release his group's recommendations on ways to redress the grievances and relieve the tensions that blazed into the urban riots of 1967. Kerner has said that the report will be "uncomfortable" for many Americans; he has also said that the major recommendations of the report will deal with jobs, education, and housing. This is an indication that the Kerner Commission, like the earlier McCone Commission inquiry on Watts, assumes that the Negroes who participate in riots are primarily young people and dropouts, the uneducated and unskilled, the jobless, and the ill-housed.

This assumption, which has become conventional wisdom about rioters, has been called the "riffraff" theory by Professor Robert M. Fogelson of Columbia. He criticized the McCone Commission for taking this line in the face of evidence that the majority of Watts rioters were not teen-agers but young adults, better educated than their peers, employed, and resident in Los Angeles for at least five years. The participants in the Detroit riots of 1967 did not conform to the riffraff stereotype either. By a fortunate circumstance, detailed data on the inhabitants of the Detroit riot areas are available. They were collected as part of a survey of the metropolitan region made by the University of Michigan Center for Urban Studies for the Detroit Regional Transportation and Land Use Study, of which I am the director. And they have been supplemented by statistics on persons arrested during the riots, gathered by the Urban Law Center of the University of Detroit and other responsible sources. The profile of the Detroit rioter that emerges from these data supports the evidence of Watts and other

cities and indicates to me that solutions based primarily on improving schools, housing, and employment opportunities for urban Negroes are not responsive to the deeper needs behind the violence. They are the *comfortable* solutions, the things that our society knows how to do best, when it chooses, but they are not what the riots are all about. What is disturbing to me about the data we have collected—which has been available to both national and local bodies investigating the riots—is the absence of evidence that the message of the findings has got through.

WHO ARE THE RIOTERS?

There are 600,000 Negroes in Detroit and some twenty-six per cent of their households have incomes below the poverty level. The majority of these poor live in the deep core of the city, which was not the scene of the riots. These are obviously the people who most need direct aid to improve their lot, but the best evidence suggests that relatively few of them took part in the violence. Who then were the rioters?

In the main riot areas, according to our survey, the median annual income of Negro households is \$6,200. This is higher than the figure for all Negro households in Detroit, \$5,595, and not far below the median white household income of \$6,800. (About a third of all Detroit Negroes, including those who are better off than most, do not live in either the poverty or the riot areas).

A comparison of characteristics bearing on the family stability of Negroes living within the riot area with all Negroes in Detroit shows relatively little difference in most respects. The percentage of households with male heads (76.7) and of household heads who are married and living with spouse (67.1) is about the same. The proportion who own or are buying their homes is forty per cent in the riot area and forty-five per cent for Negroes in the city as a whole. (Sixty-nine per cent of whites in Detroit own or are buying their homes.) Forty-two per cent of Negroes in the riot area and forty-three per cent in the entire city have lived at their present address five years or more. Educational attainment of Negro household heads—forty-five per cent high-school graduates or better—is higher in the riot area than throughout the city. Seventy per cent of Negro households in the riot area have autos available, compared to sixty-five per cent for all Negro households in Detroit.

Negroes living within the riot area are substantially better off in every respect than Negroes who live inside the deep core. They also are somewhat better off than the whites who live in the riot neighborhoods.

Although it seemed reasonable to assume that the characteristics of the rioters were similar to those of the riot-area residents, the picture that emerged was so at variance with the conventional assumptions that additional, more direct data on those arrested seemed to be necessary. These gradually became available from several sources, and they tended to confirm the general picture.

Detroit Police Department arrest records show that only ten per cent of the Negroes arrested were juveniles; eighteen per cent were between seventeen and nineteen years old, twenty-four per cent between twenty and twenty-four, seventeen per cent between twenty-five and twenty-nine, and thirty-one per cent over thirty. The Urban Law Center's survey of 1,200 non-juvenile male arrestees shows that eighty-three per cent were employed, forty per cent of them by the three major auto companies and an equal percentage by other large (and mostly unionized) employers. No income data were gathered, but annual wages of \$6,000 and more can be assumed. Forty-five per cent of the male arrestees were married, and eighty per cent of them lived with their spouses. Two-thirds had no previous criminal convictions, and an additional twenty per cent had one previous conviction. Only about half as large a proportion owned or were buying their own homes as for all Negroes in Detroit—the only characteristic in which the arrestees differed significantly from the "average young Negro male."

Programs in the areas of jobs, housing, and education are, of course, vitally needed in Detroit, as elsewhere. Yet these are in danger because many politicians anticipate popular opposition to, or are themselves against, anything that might appear to "reward" the rioters. This is ironic, since such programs would actually reward the non-rioters. The overwhelming majority of the rioters had good jobs, few would be eligible for low-cost housing, and only a small proportion were of school age.

It becomes increasingly clear that the strident declarations of Negro militants and the more reasonably stated interpretations of increasing numbers of Negro moderates are accurate: the riots were an outburst of frustration over unmet

demands for dignity and for economic and political power. They were a tragic, violent, but understandable declaration of manhood and an insistence that Negroes be able to participate in and to control their own destinies and community affairs.

HOW TO HELP

As de Tocqueville put it long ago, "Only consummate statecraft can enable a king to save his throne when after a long spell of oppressive rule he sets to improving the lot of his subjects. Patiently endured so long as it seemed beyond redress, a grievance comes to appear intolerable once the possibility of removing it crosses men's minds. For the mere fact that certain abuses have been remedied draws attention to the others and they now appear more galling; people may suffer less, but their sensibility is exacerbated."

Last summer brought just this kind of lower-middle-class rebellion. Such rebellions can be put down temporarily with more police and guns and fire engineers and tear gas, but to eliminate the tension, frustration, and hostility that underlie the violence, the nation must demonstrate to the Negro who has met his basic material needs that equality of opportunity is a fact and that we will deliver on our promises.

Certain specific actions, in addition to programs designed for large and low-income families that will provide decent jobs and training, educational improvement, and an adequate supply of housing, are needed now for the restive lower middle class:

A massive effort to sensitize white Americans to the true nature of our society as it has affected the Negro.

The enactment of open housing laws. These will probably not have a material effect on living patterns for many years, but will have an immediate symbolic value.

Raising the salaries and training standards of police.

The allocation of funds from nongovernmental sources to enable neighborhood organizations to hire experts both to plan and carry out their own programs and to evaluate and respond effectively to those of governmental agencies.

Conscious avoidance by whites in leadership positions of any actions that might be interpreted as efforts to select leaders for the Negro community or control Negro organizations.

Changing local government where necessary to enable "the people" to exercise a more effective voice, perhaps by increasing the number of seats on "at large" city councils and providing for election of the added members from districts.

A similar direct representation on boards of education, even more closely related to the concept of self-determination.

Neighborhood centers must be provided—not associated with any poverty program—where citizen complaints about all departments and agencies of Federal State, and city government can be heard, referred to the proper agency, and followed up.

The provision of low- or no-interest loans coupled with training and continuing counsel to enable more Negroes to become entrepreneurs.

These are a few steps—in addition to accelerated anti-poverty measures—which I believe constitute the minimum necessary. If we deal only with housing, education, and jobs, we are sowing the seeds of even greater trouble, because we will be placing more and more Negroes in a better position to realize how empty these are without dignity and a meaning degrees of control over their own destiny.

COMMUNITY CONTROL VS. SCHOOL INTEGRATION—THE CASE OF DETROIT

By William R. Grant

New York and Detroit are the only big cities in America that have decentralized their public school systems in order to establish community control. Many people can still recall the bitter conflict over decentralization that raged in New York during the autumn and winter of 1968, involving an extended teachers' strike, intense racial and ethnic hostility, and a bewildering tangle of educational, political, and legal issues. The experience of Detroit—with the Nation's fourth largest public school system of 290,000 students—in 1969 and 1970 is less widely known but perhaps even more important. For here the central issue was framed—

and resolved—with a directness and clarity unusual in American politics. The issue was simply whether, as a practical matter, community control is compatible with racial integration. And the unequivocal answer in Detroit was no.

DECENTRALIZATION PROPOSED

The story of school integration and community control in Detroit is symbolized by the rise, success, and sudden demise of the political career of A. L. Zwerdling, the president of the city's board of education until 1970. After graduation from law school in 1939, Zwerdling, the son of a poor Central European immigrant who became a wealthy furrier, went to work as an assistant to Walter Reuther and soon rose to *associate general counsel of the UAW*. In 1946 he set up a flourishing private labor law practice, and although many unions wanted his services he found time to be active in the Americans for Democratic Action and in the Stevenson for President campaigns.

In 1964, Reuther persuaded Zwerdling to run for a seat on the Detroit Board of Education. The civil rights movement was then at its zenith, and three school board members were not running for reelection. Convinced that this was the time to put a liberal majority on the board, Detroit's liberal groups formed a coalition, recruited candidates, organized a campaign—and won. In the years that followed, the board changed school boundaries to promote integration, hired black teachers and administrators, and demanded from publishers textbooks giving a fairer portrayal of the races. Every decision, every appointment, every statement reflected the board's overriding commitment to the goal of racial integration.

In the summer of 1969, however, the civil rights movement was in disarray and the ideas of community control and black power were on the rise. The Michigan legislature then passed a law requiring the decentralization of the Detroit public school system. On the face of it, this action did not seem particularly momentous. The school board was already on record in favor of decentralization, or "increased community involvement," as most members preferred to call it, in the belief that decentralization would help to persuade blacks that the system was fair.

But the liberal board majority still viewed integration as their primary goal, and they were determined that any decentralization would be of a sort that would promote that overriding aim. Zwerdling was also aware, as he told a meeting of school administrators in Washington, D.C. in 1969, that "no one who has come to our public meetings on decentralization is interested in integration. Everyone wants segregation so they will be assured a little piece of control." It was his fear, he said, that "you cannot have both integration and community control." And if it came to a choice between the two, there was no question about how he would vote. "I did not become the president of the Detroit Board of Education to preside over the liquidation of an integrated school system," he told the League of Women Voters after he returned from Washington. "Everyone in the City of Detroit could sign a petition asking me to vote for segregation," he told a public board meeting later, "and that still would not change my vote." Under Zwerdling's leadership and with a \$360,000 planning grant from the Ford Foundation, the board opted for a decentralization plan that mapped out racially integrated local school districts.

Within nine months, Zwerdling and the rest of the liberal board majority had been recalled from office after a vitriolic campaign with racist overtones, and Detroit voters had elected a new school board with the smallest proportion of black representatives in 15 years. The liberal superintendent had resigned, and the new board talked of "weeding out" other administrators. Detroit had undergone one of the most tumultuous political controversies in its history, and the races were more sharply polarized than at any point since the devastating riots of 1967.

Detroit's experience with decentralization documents the problems involved in reforming even the most progressive and least insulated of the nation's big city school systems. It also offers some important evidence on the incompatibility of integration and decentralization.

AN INTEGRATIONIST'S PROGRESS

As has been noted, the Detroit board has been ruled by a black-liberal-labor coalition since the election in 1964 on an integrationist platform of Zwerdling, Peter F. Grylls, a telephone company executive, and the Rev. Darneau Stewart,

a black minister. They joined with Remus Robinson, a surgeon elected in 1955 and is the first black member of the school board, to make a pro-integration majority on the seven-member board. Zwerdling was the acknowledged leader and the board's most forceful advocate of integration.

Shortly after taking office, Zwerdling tried to fire the superintendent, Samuel M. Brownell, on the ground that he was not aggressive enough on the integration issue, but Remus Robinson, generally a cautious, conservative man, refused to go along. Brownell soon solved the problem by announcing that he would not seek to renew his contract when it expired in 1966. Zwerdling set out to find a man with a proven record on integration, but after a year-long search, the man the board wanted, Neil V. Sullivan of Berkeley, California, rejected the job. In July 1966, on a split vote, the board named Norman Drachler, Zwerdling's second choice, as acting superintendent. Drachler, then assistant superintendent for community relations, had begun in the Detroit school system as a teacher in 1936. The board made him superintendent by unanimous vote the following March.

No one, except perhaps Zwerdling, expected the quiet, scholarly Drachler to bring a revolution to the school system, but the new superintendent turned out to be just the aggressive integrationist the board had wanted. The proportion of black teachers increased from 31 per cent in 1966 to 42 per cent in 1970; that of black administrators more than tripled, from 11 per cent in 1966 to 37 per cent in 1970. Drachler appointed two men from outside the system to be the city's first black deputy superintendents. At Drachler's direction Detroit became the first big city openly to challenge textbook publishers on the presentation of blacks in their books, and in some cases the school system published its own books in preference to using what the board thought was an inadequate commercial book. As a condition of doing business with the school system, all contractors were required to prove they had a suitable percentage of black employees and executives.

Since 1965, the school board's announced policy had been to integrate school districts. In the early 1960's, the system had been divided into regions, each with its own regional administrators, and when in 1962 the board decided to move the Sherrill School from a mainly white region into a predominantly black one, a group of black parents within the school's district lines brought suit in a federal court to block the move. The case lingered in court until 1965, when the school board won an indefinite adjournment by agreeing to redraw all its region boundaries so that each region contained both black and white neighborhoods.

Despite these efforts, by the fall of 1970, fully three-fourths of Detroit's black pupils were in schools that were still more than 90 per cent black. The movement of whites to the suburbs and the increasing size of the black population (a large proportion of them of school age) far outweighed any tinkering that could be done with the school system. The new administration, therefore, made only slight progress in reducing classroom segregation. Drachler altered the school system's open enrollment policy so that students could transfer only if the move furthered integration. The busing policy was similarly revised—but only about 3,000 students were bused, and then only for the purpose of relieving overcrowding. There was little sentiment and no money for city-wide busing, although a 1967 staff report had informed Drachler that massive busing was the only way to integrate the city's schools and classrooms.

AN IDEA WHOSE TIME CAME QUICKLY

Throughout this century, centralization and consolidation have been touchstones in the orthodoxy of American public education. The thrust of school reform has been to enlarge, consolidate, and centralize school systems. This movement culminated when the Compromise School Act of 1896 broke the power of the ward trustees over the highly decentralized New York City school system and placed it in the hands of a central school board. Such was the power of this idea that, in the late 1950's Myron Liberman could write: "One of the most important education trends in the next few decades is likely to be the decline of local control of education. Such a development is long overdue. Local control has clearly outlived its usefulness on the American scene. Intellectually, it is already a corpse."

Until the mid-1960's, little notice was paid to the argument, advanced in studies dating back nearly 30 years, that the major urban school systems had become too large and were no less in need of restructuring than small rural systems. This view suddenly came into fashion. At first, reformers urged not community con-

trol but rather a larger voice in decisions by *professionals* at the lower levels of the school system. Thus, Marilyn Gittell argued that the New York City school system was incapable of educational reform because of the tight control exercised by a few professionals at the top; the answer, she held, was "decentralization of bureaucratic authority and the expansion of outside professional influence." And in Detroit in 1968, the High School Study Commission, a group of 350 civic leaders formed in the aftermath of some demonstrations by black students, advanced a similar view. Most decisions, the commission recommended, should be made by the school principal. He "should be the one person who combines necessary decision-making with a clear grasp of the needs peculiar to a given neighborhood. He should be given the responsibility for relating the school to its environment; he should be given the authority to do it; he should be held accountable for the results."

In the mid-1960's, as more blacks became disillusioned with integration, decentralization acquired an important new base of political support and in the process underwent an important alteration. From having been a strategy for dispersing administrative authority among school professionals, it soon became as well a strategy for dispersing the school board's policy-making powers among the citizens of local communities—hence the emphasis upon "community control." In Detroit, a major leader of the community control movement was the Rev. Albert Cleage, Jr., a charismatic black minister who had played a key role in the integrationist Sherrill School case. "I did not have a philosophical commitment to integration at any point," Cleage now says. "My primary interest has always been the best possible education for black children. We used the Sherrill case because it was the tactic of the time." Cleage and his followers began turning away from integration and toward community control as early as 1963, when Malcolm X appeared in Detroit at a conference Cleage had helped arrange. Later Cleage, who renamed his Central United Church of Christ the Shrine of the Black Madonna, helped form the Inner City Parents Council and became its chairman. In June 1967, he presented to the school board the council's first formal demand for black control of black schools.

The community control movement soon acquired two advocates in the Michigan legislature. One of these was James Del Rio, a black Democrat with a flair for the dramatic who represented a poor district in Detroit. Early in the 1968 session, Del Rio introduced a bill to divide the system into 16 "subsidiary" and autonomus school systems, each of which would be independent in the eyes of the state and co-equal with the other 650 Michigan school systems. The bill attracted support from Albert Cleage but was heatedly denounced by practically everyone else with any influence in Detroit education—the city-wide PTA, the Board of Commerce, the Detroit Federation of Teachers, Detroit's influential black weekly, the *Michigan Chronicle*, the city's Urban Coalition group, and the board of education itself. After clearing the House education committee, the bill was defeated by a floor vote. Virtually unnoticed during the lively discussion over Del Rio's bill was a second bill introduced by a liberal white Democrat from Detroit, Jack Faxon, which called for division of the school system into regions, each with its own elected school board, but which also retained and enlarged the city's existing central board. Faxon's measure was killed in committee.

This massive opposition was not to community control but to the drastic Del Rio bill. The board of education became more interested in the subject upon the presentation of the High School Study Commission report, which recommended administrative decentralization and also argued for making provision for "the voice of the inner city in the planning and decision-making process of the schools." Zwerdling suggested that a citizens' committee be elected in each of the city's 22 neighborhood high school districts to act as a "liaison" between the school board and the community. But though all board members advocated reform of this type, they were unable to resolve the crucial issue of how much power to turn over to community boards.

In 1968, a city-wide black group, the Citizens for Community Control, organized a number of conferences in which participants in New York City's Ocean Hill-Brownsville experiment spoke. Afterwards, the chairman of this group wrote in the *Michigan Chronicle* that "equality of education through integration is politically and geographically unworkable." He also challenged the school board to stop talking about "community involvement" on the ground that "we already have had that in Detroit. And it doesn't work." Blacks, he declared, would accept nothing less than complete community control. "The principal should have

the power to hire and fire the teachers, and the community the power to hire and fire the principal."

Meanwhile, in November, Andrew Perdue, a black attorney, was elected to the board of education with the support of Rev. Cleage and other community control advocates. Perdue was deeply committed to decentralization and community control.

Neither Cleage's Inner City Parents Council nor the Citizens for Community Control developed a particularly large following. Probably they would have if the board had been unwilling to discuss community control. But the board was not unwilling. In fact, it was primarily responsible for making community control and decentralization topics of discussion in the first place. What the board was responding to, in the absence of strong local pressure, was the national discussion of community control that started with the debate over Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Thus, when *The New York Times* interviewed superintendent Drachler during the New York teachers' strike in the fall of 1968, he declared: "Some type of decentralization is inevitable. The question is what is the best method of achieving decentralization?"

The Del Rio and Faxon bills were reintroduced at the beginning of the 1969 session of the state legislature. Almost immediately, one was tabled and the other died in committee. Legislative discussion of decentralization seemed to be dead.

But in Detroit, support for decentralization continued to grow. On April 8, 1969, the Detroit NAACP made its first formal request for decentralization. Its plan for a "community centered school" called for an elected board to oversee each of the city's 330 schools. The board, whose membership was to be "weighted in favor of parents with children in the school," would in turn name representatives to sit on a board for the entire high school area. "It is our hope that strong state legislative action will not be necessary for creating change in the school system," an NAACP representative said. "However, it appears that legislation or not, we are headed for some form of community control."

Days later, State Senator Coleman Young handed to the Senate clerk a bill which was a polished version of the Faxon proposal. Young, a Democrat from Detroit's inner city and the acknowledged leader of the black legislators, is also the state's Democratic National Committeeman. His support assured that decentralization was a live issue in the legislature.

The board discussed the NAACP plan for more than a month. Four of the seven members indicated they would support it or something like it, but there was no agreement on specifics, and some members were cautious. The board's state lobbyist reported that Senator Young's bill could be killed in the Senate education committee. Most board members were not prepared to oppose the Young bill because they did not oppose decentralization, but neither were they prepared to say what kind of decentralization they favored. The lobbyist was ordered to take a hands-off position on the bill. But he did attempt to protect the board by having Young add a phrase providing that the regional school boards would function "subject to guidelines" adopted by the central board. And at the request of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, which was similarly sitting out the decentralization controversy, Young, an old unionist, added a clause holding that "the rights of retirement, tenure, seniority, and other benefits of any employee transferred to a regional school district or between regional school districts . . . shall not be abnegated, diminished or impaired."

In June, the Young bill was reported out of the education committee, and after virtually no debate the Senate passed it by a vote of 25 to 5. In July, the House passed it by a vote of 83-18. These large margins helped to persuade Republican Governor William G. Milliken, and on August 11 he signed the bill into law.

In Detroit, nobody was particularly happy with the new law. Blacks thought it did not go far enough in securing community control. Many whites believed that decentralization was unnecessary and a waste of money, although some white conservatives were quick to recognize that community control would be a boon to them.

DRAWING THE LINES

For the school board, the first order of business was to establish the boundaries of the new regions, and during the fall it held five public hearings on this issue. It quickly became clear that the black community was less than enthusiastic about creating racially integrated regions. "Consideration should be given to those areas where a sense of community prevails," an NAACP representative stated. "This decentralization bill is not a vehicle for integration." New Detroit,

the city's Urban Coalition group, declared: "Elimination of de facto segregation should be the result of and not the object of education." The representative of another black group reported that "Throughout all our discussions, integration has been the least sought-after variable." Such sentiments were aptly summed up by a spokesman for the largely black First Congressional District Democratic organization, who said, "Redistricting must guarantee black control of black schools."

The willingness of blacks to forsake integrated regions stemmed from the simple demographic fact that, although 65 per cent of Detroit public school students were black, only 44 per cent of the city's electorate was black. If the regions were fully integrated—with each region's racial mix duplicating the mix of the city as a whole—they all would have black student majorities and black voter minorities.

When Zwerdling and his fellow board members talked of coupling decentralization with integration, integrated regions were precisely what they had in mind. "It is true that decentralization will not change where anyone goes to school," Zwerdling said in early 1970. "It is not going to end racial isolation. But if we drew boundaries that put blacks into one region and whites into another region there could never be any integration. We would have frozen things. But . . . we seek to achieve integration, and so what we can do is create a situation where blacks and whites working together on region boards can move to end the segregation within their own region." Zwerdling ignored the possibility that a white voter majority might move region boards farther away from integration.

In ordinary circumstances, Zwerdling's plan would have commanded a voting majority of the board. Zwerdling and the other members of his 1964 campaign team, Grylls and Stewart, were prepared to vote for it, and their frequent ally, Remus Robinson, had said that he would go along. But early in 1970 Robinson was hospitalized with cancer and was unable to be present to cast his vote. Zwerdling delayed the vote for weeks in the hope that Robinson would be well enough to appear and vote.

Two other board members, James A. Hathaway and Patrick A. McDonald, refused to support the Zwerdling plan. Hathaway, a white attorney elected in 1968 with Perdue, had decided to vote for black control of black schools because that was what had been demanded in the hearings. McDonald, a young white attorney with an ambitious eye on higher office, had spent most of his term opposing every Zwerdling program—to which the board majority reciprocated by refusing to consider any McDonald suggestion. As usual, McDonald had his own plan, which only he was prepared to vote for.

Andrew Perdue was the swing vote: if he could be won over, Zwerdling's plan would have a majority even in Robinson's absence. But Perdue considered the Zwerdling plan a "smokescreen." If the board were really serious about achieving maximum integration, he insisted, it would have to change school "feeder patterns wherever possible." Unless the board were willing to do that, it should stop talking about intergration and draw up the black-controlled and white-controlled regions that every one demanded.

In mid-March, when it became apparent that Robinson would not attend another board meeting, Drachler called in his key aides and told them that Perdue's vote had to be won. To do that, Drachler said, "I need an integration plan." The staff proceeded to give him one. Without altering the regions mapped out by the Zwerdling plan, Drachler's aides redrew the boundaries of many high school district within five of those regions. The racial composition of half of the city's 22 neighborhood high schools would be substantially affected, and the three remaining all-white schools would become integrated. Cody, a 2.1 per cent black school, would become 31.3 per cent black; Redford, only 2.2 per cent black, would become 29.2 per cent black; and Denby, 3.1 per cent black, would become 53 per cent black. About half of the 9,000 students to be affected by the plan would be white students, who would be sent to predominantly black schools. It was the first time the board had integrated both ways, requiring whites to go to black schools as well as the reverse.

With Zwerdling's approval and Robinson's support, Drachler presented the plan to the board at a secret dinner meeting on March 31, 1970. Perdue gave his assent, and the four votes needed to adopt the plan were assured. "You have spoiled my dinner," McDonald told Drachler.

The next day, McDonald called Drachler to ask for a copy of the plan. Zwerdling had given instructions that no documents were to be distributed, but Drachler decided that McDonald had a right to have a copy of the plan.

So on Friday a messenger delivered a full copy of the integration plan and the supporting charts to each board member. McDonald promptly turned over his copy to a favored reporter, and on Sunday both Detroit newspapers carried page one stories about the board's readiness to adopt a "sweeping integration plan."

REACTION IN DETROIT AND LANSING

The reaction was swift and violent. On Monday parents at four junior high schools affected by the plan kept their children home in protest; at one of these, only 50 of 500 students showed up for class. That night, a group of angry white parents met to form a Citizens' Committee for Better Education and elected Edward Zaleski, a policeman, as its temporary chairman. "It will be a tough fight," Zaleski said, "but we are prepared to fight this thing all year, or ten years if necessary."

On Tuesday, as the boycotts continued, the school board held a meeting; white parents jammed the second floor board room at school headquarters, and hundreds more overflowed into hallways and the ground floor lobby. McDonald, whose popularity among the city's white voters was rising, went to the lobby to proclaim himself the champion of the parents' cause and to denounce his fellow board members. He further suggested that anyone unhappy with the school board might study the state's recall law. At one point during the evening, the parents tried to break down the glass doors leading to the meeting room, chanting "Hell now, we won't go." Inside, the board heard more than 30 speakers, most of them against the plan. A spokesman for the Detroit Urban League hailed the action as "the board's finest hour." After five hours, the board, as expected, officially enacted the plan—Zwerdling, Grylls, Stewart, and Perdue in favor; McDonald and Hathaway against.

The turmoil in the schools continued for a week. Detroit officialdom was in confusion. And white parents continued to organize. Aubrey Short, a metallurgical engineer with eight children, was elected permanent chairman of the Citizens' Committee for Better Education. On May 4, the committee held a rally in front of school headquarters to kick off a recall campaign against the four board members who had voted for the integration plan.

Meanwhile, in Lansing, the Michigan legislature had enacted a protest of its own. The day after the integration plan was adopted, two old foes of the board, James Del Rio and E. D. O'Brien, a conservative white from Detroit, pulled out of committee a bill providing for a referendum on decentralization and added an amendment requiring the school board to send every student to the school nearest his home. The next day, the bill as amended passed 68-31. Del Rio was absent and none of Detroit's black legislators voted for the bill, but white Detroit conservatives joined with suburban and rural legislators to make up the huge majority. The Senate voted 22 to 9 to repeal the decentralization law outright. Senator Young declared that "this is capitulation to blind prejudice."

For Young and other supporters of decentralization, the situation was desperate. Clearly there were enough votes to prohibit any form of decentralization and to pass anti-integration legislation as well. Young was furious at the Detroit school board for adopting what he came to call "this chicken shit integration plan." He could be seen walking to sessions of the Senate muttering to no one in particular, "And they thought they could get away with this in an election year."

Young decided that his best tactic was to get the legislature to pass a new law authorizing decentralization but outlawing the integration plan. "You can support that kind of bill," he told his fellow black legislators, "because the anti-integration clause will last only as long as it takes to get this thing into court." Such a strategy was further recommended by the fact that only a third of the 149 candidates who had filed for the regional school board elections were black. The prospect of a white sweep of the elections made Young all the more willing to take up a new decentralization law, which would allow time for more candidates to file.

Young and the House Speaker, another leading liberal, met with conservative legislators from April through June in an effort to reach agreement. The central problem was where to draw the regional boundaries. Conservatives wanted boundaries drawn along legislative district lines because these best served to separate black and white areas. Liberals would not go along with such a blatantly segregationist plan and wanted the boundaries drawn according to school attendance boundaries. Governor Milliken said he would sign no law which did not win approval of the entire Detroit delegation.

After nearly three months of steady work, a compromise was worked out. The legislature would pass a decentralization law with the boundary issue unresolved; if within seven days after the governor signed the bill no agreement on boundaries could be reached, the governor would appoint a three-member boundary commission to do the job. The bill sailed through the House 93-1 and through the Senate 30 to 0 without debate. The governor signed it into law on July 7. When the legislature could not decide on the boundaries, the governor appointed a commission to settle the matter.

In Young's opinion, the new decentralization law was better than the old one. It provided for eight regional school districts, each with a five-member elected board. The top vote-getter in each region would be the regional chairman and would have a seat on the central school board. The central board would have only five at-large members, so that the regional chairman would be in the majority. The central board would handle labor negotiations, distribution of lump-sum budgets to the regions, and the building of new schools from the limited construction budget. Most other responsibilities for running the system rested with the regional boards. Unlike New York City, where high schools remain under central board authority, all Detroit schools were turned over to the regional boards except for a handful of specialized, city-wide schools.

The new law also managed to take a few digs at the board majority. It shortened the terms of Zwerdling, Stewart, and Grylls by one year so that they would expire on December 30, 1970. It also restricted the power of the board to fill the vacancy created by the death of Remus Robinson on June 14th. The legislature enacted these provisions on the understanding that, if it did so, the group pressing for the recall of the board majority would call off the campaign. Everyone in state government feared that a recall campaign carried on through the summer could lead to another riot.

But a few days after Governor Milliken signed the new decentralization bill into law, Aubrey Short, chairman of the Citizens' Committee for Better Education, said his group would not call off the campaign after all. "A lot of people have decided they don't like the board of education. If they have changed their minds, then they can vote against the recall on election day," he said.

THE RECALL

The recall campaign is one of the amazing success stories of modern Detroit politics. Within two weeks after the kickoff, a door-to-door campaign had netted 70,000 signatures of the 114,000-plus required (a number equal to 25 per cent of the total local vote for governor in the last election). Earlier attempts to recall public officials—most recently it had been Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh—had failed because of the large number of signatures needed. But the school board recall had a momentum which could not be stopped, and on June 15 the committee filed petitions with 130,000 names. A month later the city clerk ordered the issue on the August 4 primary election ballot.

Three separate federal and state suits were filed during the next month in an effort to keep the recall off the ballot. But on July 31, just five days before the election, the Michigan Court of Appeals overruled a lower court decision and ordered the recall question put back on the ballot.

The inconsistent court decisions left little time for a campaign to oppose the recall. After the final court decision, a group of old-line liberals tried to organize against the recall, but they could raise only enough money for one full-page newspaper advertisement. The UAW, now without Walter Reuther at the helm, printed leaflets opposing the recall, but little else was done. "Where have they all gone?" asked Andrew Perdue on election day, "the UAW, the NAACP, the others who supported us."

The election turnout was light—only 23 per cent of the city's eligible voters went to the polls—and the recall carried with 60 per cent of the vote. Voting was unusually heavy in the city's white neighborhoods, and in some areas where the integration plan would have required whites to go to black schools, the favorable vote on the recall was 90 per cent. An equally heavy percentage opposed the recall in black neighborhoods, but voting there was not as heavy as in white precincts.

It was the first successful recall in the 128-year history of the Detroit school system, and when it was over, not even the recall committee was terribly proud of what it had done. Edward Zaleski defensively told an NBC news interviewer: "I had a right to fight. My daughter was being sent to a black school. We knew we were going to win because we were fighting for our children. They were fighting for only an idea."

THE NEW SCHOOL BOARDS

On the day of the recall election, the governor's boundary commission announced its conclusions. The commission members—a prominent black liberal clergyman, a conservative white city councilman, and a little-known Wayne State University law professor—had agreed from the outset that integration of regions would not be a condition. They also agreed to divide political control equally between whites and blacks. With these issues out of the way, they set to work to create four white-controlled and four black-controlled regions. Their deliberations centered on the technical problem of drawing boundaries that kept as close as possible to existing school boundaries while still meeting the one man, one vote test. As a result of the commission's work, which was finished less than two weeks after its appointment, decentralization was at last ready to go into effect—or so it seemed.

But shortly after the recall, the NAACP brought suit against the legislature challenging its right to overturn the school board's April 7 integration plan. The United States District Court refused to reinstate that original plan. Upon appeal, the Federal Circuit Court ruled in mid-October that the section of the decentralization law prohibiting the board from implementing its integration plan was unconstitutional, but it turned back to the District Court the question of whether the board's original plan should be put into effect. The District Court in turn asked the school board, which now included four members appointed by the governor to replace those recalled, to suggest alternative plans, and the board responded by offering three—the original integration plan, a voluntary integration plan suggested by Patrick McDonald, and a plan requiring every high school student to take at least part of his course work at a second school. The Court selected McDonald's plan to create "magnet" high schools designed to attract voluntary student transfers and ordered that the plan be put into effect by September 1971.

Meanwhile, school board elections were under way. Although the new decentralization law canceled the normal primary and opened up the election to new candidates, only 51 additional candidates filed, making a total of 200. These 200 were a diverse group, including 19 teachers, 18 housewives, 7 lawyers, and a sampling of other professions. No consistent city-wide campaign organization was evident during the weeks prior to the election. The UAW, traditionally an important power in Detroit politics, was active and successful in several parts of the city, especially in two black areas. The Citizens' Committee for Better Education was likewise in evidence in areas where feeling against the integration plan had been high. But in general the campaigning was unorganized as a result of which the most important factor in the election seemed to be the candidate's name. As in other Detroit elections, well-known political names often won.

Despite any confusion, the election produced a clear victory for the conservatives. The new 13-member central board included six, staunch anti-integrationist conservatives and only three blacks, of whom only one was elected on an at-large basis—giving the board the smallest proportion of blacks in 15 years. Contrary to all expectations, blacks won a voting majority on only two of the eight regional boards, although black students were in the majority in six of the eight regions. In the three regions where opposition to the integration plan was most intense, not a single black was elected. Of the 43 central and regional board seats on the ballot, 13 were filled by blacks, whereas 10 were filled by Polish-Americans (four of them on the central board). Although black voters generally rejected openly separatist black candidates—a slate headed by Rev. Cleage did poorly in an inner-city region where Cleage is well known—white separatists fared better at the hands of the white electorate.

To anyone who may have doubted it, the conservatism of the new board manifested itself almost immediately after the new members took office on January 1, 1971. A few days later, the board held a special meeting to consider the Appeals Court's decisions to overturn the state's anti-integration law. Six new conservative members wanted to appeal the order to the United States Supreme Court. McDonald, whose support they had expected, refused to vote for the appeal because he feared that the court might overturn his voluntary integration plan. That left the board split 6 to 7 against an appeal which indicated to the conservatives that they could control the board as long as McDonald, whom they considered their spiritual leader on the strength of his opposition to the integration plan and his silent support of the recall, voted with them. At the next meeting they snatched the presidency of the board from James Hathaway, who had presided over the interim board, and handed it over to McDonald—the man who, until a few months earlier, had been the pariah of Zwerdling's liberal board.

As a result of the election, superintendent Drachler found himself in a difficult position. It was clear that, at best, he could command only five or six votes on the 13-member board. Moreover, the new board had suddenly become money-conscious. Whereas the old liberal board had paid little attention to the \$29 million deficit in the system's \$249 million budget, the new board started cutting programs and firing personnel, including 192 non-contract teachers, in an effort to reduce spending by \$12 million within six weeks. Trying—but with little success—to make it sound like a normal event, Drachler announced toward the end of January that he would resign at the end of the school year in order to set up and direct a new program, funded largely by the Ford Foundation, to train future educational leaders.

COMMUNITY CONTROL—OR "DIXIE"

The early weeks of decentralization produced several issues which could have sparked city-wide confrontations like those experienced in New York. First, a regional board acceded to the demands of a group of black parents to remove a principal in clear violation of the school system's contract with the principal's union. But the principal backed off and was quietly given another assignment. Then, in defiance of the central board's instruction another regional board refused to give students a statewide achievement test. The central board said nothing. This same regional board also said it would not implement voluntary integration in September. Still no open confrontation occurred. Everyone seemed anxious to avoid what they called "another Ocean Hill," and when a confrontation threatened to escalate to that point, both the regional and central boards backed away.

There was also some evidence in the early weeks that the new boards were less than unanimous in their enthusiasm and commitment to make decentralization work. Some new members had been outspoken in their opposition to the whole idea of decentralization during the campaign, and several of them continued to take this view once in office. They talked of having the legislature end "this foolish experiment" before the next school board election in 1973. And some of the regional boards seemed more interested in avoiding responsibility than in using or expanding it. After a series of high school disruptions, the central board was forced to assume responsibility for handling incidents because the regional boards did not want to have to deal with the messy problem of student unrest.

But it is still too early to determine whether decentralization in Detroit will produce genuine community control or whether it will have a favorable impact on student achievement. It may or it may not. Only time will tell, although it may be a significant portent for the future that at no point during the debate on decentralization was education the prime consideration. The arguments were all political.

About the short-run political consequences of decentralization, some things do seem clear. In Detroit the process of decentralization produced severe racial polarization and a backlash vote which put a conservative school board in office. The blacks who pressed for decentralization were the losers; they ended up with less power and less influence than they had had before decentralization. As a result, some of the city's more conservative black leaders are ready to give up on decentralization before it is even a year old. Meanwhile, the devastating political conflict that accompanied the process of decentralization has not yet quieted down, and the "peace of reconciliation" that Alan Altshuler envisions as the ideal outcome of decentralization has yet to descend upon Detroit.

The national importance of Detroit's experience with decentralization lies in the conflict which developed between decentralization and integration. It can be argued that the board's integration plan, which was developed as a compromise to get needed votes, did not in fact achieve much integration. But there can be no doubt that those who worked to recall the school board did so in order to fight integration no matter how modest its degree. And in fighting integration during the recall campaign, whites who had opposed decentralization for two years suddenly embraced community control as they realized that segregated regions would protect them forever from the threat of integration that the Zwerdling plan had posed.

It may not be, as one school official observed on the day of the recall election, that "the song is 'community control' but the tune is 'Dixie.'" But the Detroit experience does offer convincing evidence that integration and community control are not easily compatible.

CONTRIBUTORS

Daniel Bell's essay was written originally for an IBM Forum held at Poughkeepsie, New York earlier this year. This essay will appear in a volume honoring Professor Eli Ginsberg of Columbia University on his sixtieth birthday. . . . Nathen Glazer is Professor of Education and Social Structure at Harvard University. . . . William R. Grant is the Education Editor of the Detroit Free Press. . . . Carl Kaysen is the Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. . . . Irving Kristol is the Henry Luce Professor of Urban Values at New York University. . . . E. J. Mishan is Professor of Economics at the London School of Economics and at the American University in Washington, D.C. . . . Aaron Wildavsky is Dean of the Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of California at Berkeley. He is now working (with Naomi Caiden) on a book tentatively entitled "Planning and Budgeting in Poor Countries", supported by a grant from the Twentieth Century Fund.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, EASTERN DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN,
SOUTHERN DIVISION

CIVIL ACTION No. 35257

(A true copy, Frederick W. Johnson, Clerk, by Beverly J. Gerulski,
Deputy Clerk)

RONALD BRADLEY, ET AL., PLAINTIFFS;

v.

WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN, ET AL., DEFENDANTS

DETROIT FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, LOCAL 231, AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO, DEFENDANT-INTERVENOR

and

DENISE MAGDOWSKI, ET AL., DEFENDANTS-INTERVENOR

RULING ON ISSUE OF SEGREGATION

This action was commenced August 18, 1970, by plaintiffs, the Detroit Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People¹ and individual parents and students, on behalf of a class later defined by order of the Court dated February 16, 1971, to include "all school children of the city of Detroit and all Detroit resident parents who have children of school age." Defendants are the Board of Education of the City of Detroit, its members and its former superintendent of schools. Dr. Norman A. Drachler, the Governor, Attorney General, State Board of Education and State Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan. In their complaint, plaintiffs attacked a statute of the State of Michigan known as Act 48 of the 1970 Legislature on the ground that it put the State of Michigan in the position of unconstitutionally interfering with the execution and operation of a voluntary plan of partial high school desegregation (known as the April 7, 1970 Plan) which had been adopted by the Detroit Board of Education to be effective beginning with the fall 1970 semester. Plaintiffs also alleged that the Detroit Public School System was and is segregated on the basis of race as a result of the official policies and actions of the defendants and their predecessors in office.

Additional parties have intervened in the litigation since it was commenced. The Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) which represents a majority of Detroit Public school teachers in collective bargaining negotiations with the defendant Board of Education, has intervened as a defendant, and a group of parents has intervened as defendants.

Initially the matter was tried on plaintiffs' motion for preliminary injunction to restrain the enforcement of Act 48 so as to permit the April 7 Plan to be

¹ The standing of the NAACP as a proper party plaintiff was not contested by the original defendants and the Court expresses no opinion on the matter.

implemented. On that issue, this Court ruled that plaintiffs were not entitled to a preliminary injunction since there had been no proof that Detroit has a segregated school system. The Court of Appeals found that the "implementation of the April 7 Plan was thwarted by State action in the form of the Act of the Legislature of Michigan," (433 F. 2d 897, 902), and that such action could not be interposed to delay, obstruct or nullify steps lawfully taken for the purpose of protecting rights guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

The plaintiffs then sought to have this Court direct the defendant Detroit Board to implement the April 7 Plan by the start of the second semester (February, 1971) in order to remedy the deprivation of constitutional rights wrought by the unconstitutional statute. In response to an order of the Court, defendant Board suggested two other plans, along with the April 7 Plan, and noted priorities, with top priority assigned to the so-called "Magnet Plan." The Court acceded to the wishes of the Board and approved the Magnet Plan. Again, plaintiffs appealed but the appellate court refused to pass on the merits of the plan. Instead, the case was remanded with instructions to proceed immediately to a trial on the merits of plaintiffs' substantive allegations about the Detroit School System. 438 F. 2d 945 (6th Cir. 1971).

Trial, limited to the issue of segregation, began April 6, 1971 and concluded on July 22, 1971, consuming 41 trial days, interspersed by several brief recesses necessitated by other demands upon the time of Court and counsel. Plaintiffs introduced substantial evidence in support of their contentions, including expert and factual testimony, demonstrative exhibits and school board documents. At the close of plaintiffs' case, in chief, the Court ruled that they had presented a prima facie case of state imposed segregation in the Detroit Public Schools; accordingly, the Court enjoined (with certain exceptions) all further school construction in Detroit pending the outcome of the litigation.

The State defendants urged motions to dismiss as to them. These were denied by the Court.

* * * * *

It should be noted that, in accordance with earlier rulings of the Court, proofs submitted at previous hearings in the cause, were to be and are considered as part of the proofs of the hearing on the merits.

In considering the present racial complexion of the City of Detroit and its public school system we must first look to the past and view in perspective what has happened in the last half century. In 1920 Detroit was a predominantly white city—91%—and its population younger than in more recent times. By the year 1960 the largest segment of the city's white population was in the age range of 35 to 50 years, while its black population was younger and of childbearing age. The population of 0-15 years of age constituted 30% of the total population of which 60% were white and 40% were black. In 1970 the white population was principally aging—45 years—while the black population was younger and of childbearing age. Childbearing blacks equaled or exceeded the total white population. As older white families without children of school age leave the city they are replaced by younger black families with school age children, resulting in a doubling of enrollment in the local neighborhood school and a complete change in student population from white to black. As black inner city residents move out of the core city they "leap-frog" the residential areas nearest their former homes and move to areas recently occupied by whites.

The population of the City of Detroit reached its highest point in 1950 and has been declining by approximately 169,500 per decade since then. In 1950, the city population constituted 61% of the total population of the standard metropolitan area and in 1970 it was but 36% of the metropolitan area population. The suburban population has increased by 1,978,000 since 1940. There has been a steady out-migration of the Detroit population since 1940. Detroit today is principally a conglomerate of poor black and white plus the aged. Of the aged, 80% are white.

If the population trends evidenced in the Federal decennial census for the years 1940 through 1970 continue, the total black population in the City of Detroit in 1980 will be approximately 840,000, or 53.6% of the total. The total population of the city in 1970 is 1,511,000 and, if past trends continue, will be 1,338,000 in 1980. In school year 1960-61, there were 285,512 students in the Detroit Public Schools of which 130,765 were black. In school year 1966-67, there were 297,035 students, of which 168,299 were black. In school year 1970-71 there were 289,743 students of which 184,194 were black. The percentage of black

students in the Detroit Public Schools in 1975-76 will be 72.0%, in 1980-81 will be 80.7% and in 1992 it will be virtually 100% if the present trends continue. In 1960, the non-white population, ages 0 years to 19 years, was as follows:

Years:	Percent
0-4	42
5-9	36
10-14	28
15-19	18

In 1970 the non-white population, ages 0 years to 19 years, was as follows:

Years:	Percent
0-4	48
5-9	50
10-14	50
15-19	40

The black population as a percentage of the total population in the City of Detroit was:

	Percent
(a) 1900	1.4
(b) 1910	1.2
(c) 1920	4.1
(d) 1930	7.7
(e) 1940	9.2
(f) 1950	16.2
(g) 1960	28.9
(h) 1970	43.9

The black population as a percentage of total student population of the Detroit Public Schools was as follows:

	Percent
(a) 1961	45.8
(b) 1963	51.3
(c) 1964	53.0
(d) 1965	54.8
(e) 1966	56.7
(f) 1967	58.2
(g) 1968	59.4
(h) 1969	61.5
(i) 1970	63.8

For the years indicated the housing characteristics in the city of Detroit were as follows:

- (a) 1960, total supply of housing units was 553,000.
- (b) 1970, total supply of housing units was 530,770.

The percentage decline in the white students in the Detroit Public Schools during the period 1961-1970 (53.6% in 1960; 34.8% in 1970) has been greater than the percentage decline in the white population in the City of Detroit during the same period (70.8% in 1960; 55.21% in 1970), and correlatively, the percentage increase in black students in the Detroit Public Schools during the nine-year period 1961-1970 (45.8% in 1961; 63.8% in 1970) has been greater than the percentage increase in the black population of the City of Detroit during the ten-year period 1960-1970 (28.9% in 1960; 43.9% in 1970). In 1961 there were eight schools in the system without white pupils and 73 schools with no Negro pupils. In 1970 there were 30 schools with no white pupils and 11 schools with no Negro pupils, an increase in the number of schools without white pupils of 22 and a decrease in the number of schools without Negro pupils of 62 in this ten-year period. Between 1968 and 1970 Detroit experienced the largest increase in percentage of black students in the student population of any major northern school district. The percentage increase in Detroit was 4.7% as contrasted with:

	<i>Percent</i>
New York.....	2.0
Los Angeles.....	1.5
Chicago.....	1.9
Philadelphia.....	1.7
Cleveland.....	1.7
Milwaukee.....	2.6
St. Louis.....	2.6
Columbus.....	1.4
Indianapolis.....	2.6
Denver.....	1.1
Boston.....	3.2
San Francisco.....	1.5
Seattle.....	2.4

In 1960, there were 266 schools in the Detroit School System. In 1970, there were 319 schools in the Detroit School System.

In the Western, Northwestern, Northern, Murray, Northeastern, Kettering, King and Southeastern high school service areas, the following conditions exist at a level significantly higher than the city average:

- (a) Poverty in children.
- (b) Family income below poverty level.
- (c) Rate of homicides per population.
- (d) Number of households headed by females.
- (e) Infant mortality rate.
- (f) Surviving infants with neurological defects.
- (g) Tuberculosis cases per 1,000 population.
- (h) High pupil turnover in schools.

The City of Detroit is a community generally divided by racial lines. Residential segregation within the city and throughout the larger metropolitan area is substantial, pervasive and of long standing. Black citizens are located in separate and distinct areas within the city and are not generally to be found in the suburbs. While the racially unrestricted choice of black persons and economic factors may have played some part in the development of this pattern of residential segregation, it is, in the main, the result of past and present practices and customs of racial discrimination, both public and private, which have and do restrict the housing opportunities of black people. On the record there can be no other finding.

Governmental actions and inaction at all levels, federal, state and local, have combined, with those of private organizations, such as loaning institutions and real estate associations and brokerage firms, to establish and to maintain the pattern of residential segregation throughout the Detroit metropolitan area. It is no answer to say that restricted practices grew gradually (as the black population in the area increased between 1920 and 1970), or that since 1948 racial restrictions on the ownership of real property have been removed. The policies pursued by both government and private persons and agencies have a continuing and present effect upon the complexion of the community—as we know, the choice of a residence is a relatively infrequent affair. For many years FHA and VA openly advised and advocated the maintenance of "harmonious" neighborhoods, i.e., racially and economically harmonious. The conditions created continue. While it would be unfair to charge the present defendants with what other governmental officers or agencies have done, it can be said that the actions or the failure to act by the responsible school authorities, both city and state, were linked to that of these other governmental units. When we speak of governmental action we should not view the different agencies as a collection of unrelated units. Perhaps the most that can be said is that all of them, including the school authorities, are, in part, responsible for the segregated condition which exists. And we note that just as there is an interaction between residential patterns and the racial composition of the schools, so there is a corresponding effect on the residential pattern by the racial composition of the schools.

Turning now to the specific and pertinent (for our purposes) history of the Detroit school system so far as it involves both the local school authorities and the state school authorities, we find the following:

During the decade beginning in 1950 the Board created and maintained optional attendance zones in neighborhoods undergoing racial transition and between high school attendance areas of opposite predominant racial compositions. In 1959 there were eight basic optional attendance areas affecting 21 schools. Optional attendance areas provided pupils living within certain elementary areas a choice of attendance at one of two high schools. In addition there was at least one optional area either created or existing in 1960 between two junior high schools of opposite predominant racial components. All of the high school optional areas, except two, were in neighborhoods undergoing racial transition (from white to black) during the 1950s. The two exceptions were: (1) the option between Southwestern (61.6% black in 1960) and western (15.3% black); (2) the option between Denby (0% black) and Southeastern (30.9% black). With the exception of the Denby-Southeastern option (just noted) all of the options were between high schools of opposite predominant racial compositions. The Southwestern-Western and Denby-Southeastern optional areas are all white on the 1950, 1960 and 1970 census maps. Both Southwestern and Southeastern, however, had substantial white pupil populations, and the option allowed whites to escape integration. The natural, probable, foreseeable and actual effect of these optional zones was to allow white youngsters to escape identifiably "black" schools. There had also been an optional zone (eliminated between 1956 and 1959) created in "an attempt . . . to separate Jews and Gentiles within the system," the effect of which was that Jewish youngsters went to Mumford High School and Gentile youngsters went to Cooley. Although many of these optional areas had served their purpose by 1960 due to the fact that most of the areas had become predominantly black, one optional area (Southwestern-Western affecting Wilson Junior High graduates) continued until the present school year (and will continue to effect 11th and 12th grade white youngsters who elected to escape from predominantly black Southwestern to predominantly white Western High School). Mr. Henrickson, the Board's general fact witness, who was employed in 1959 to, *inter alia*, eliminate optional areas, noted in 1967 that: "In operation Western appears to be still the school to which white students escape from predominantly Negro surrounding schools." The effect of eliminating this optional area (which affected only 10th graders for the 1970-71 school year) was to decrease Southwestern from 86.7% black in 1969 to 74.3% black in 1970.

The Board, in the operation of its transportation to relieve overcrowding policy, has admittedly bused black pupils past or away from closer white schools with available space to black schools. This practice has continued in several instances in recent years despite the Board's avowed policy, adopted in 1967, to utilize transportation to increase integration.

With one exception (necessitated by the burning of a white school), defendant Board has never bused white children to predominantly black schools. The Board has not bused white pupils to black schools despite the enormous amount of space available in inner-city schools. There were 22,961 vacant seats in schools 90% or more black.

The Board has created and altered attendance zones, maintained and altered grade structures and created and altered feeder school patterns in a manner which has had the natural, probable and actual effect of continuing black and white pupils in racially segregated schools. The Board admits at least one instance where it purposefully and intentionally built and maintained a school and its attendance to contain black students. Throughout the last decade (and presently) school attendance zones of opposite racial compositions have been separated by north-south boundary lines, despite the Board's awareness (since at least 1962) that drawing boundary lines in an east-west direction would result in significant integration. The natural and actual effect of these acts and failures to act has been the creation and perpetuation of school segregation.

There has never been a feeder pattern or zoning change which placed a predominantly white residential area into a predominantly black school zone or feeder pattern. Every school which was 90% or more black in 1960, and which is still in use today, remains 90% or more black. Whereas 65.8% of Detroit's black students attended 90% or more black schools in 1960, 74.9% of the black students attended 90% or more black schools during the 1970-71 school year.

The public schools operated by defendant Board are thus segregated on a racial basis. This racial segregation is in part the result of the discriminatory acts and omissions of defendant Board.

In 1966 the defendant State Board of Education and Michigan Civil Rights Commission issued a Joint Policy Statement on Equality of Educational Opportunity, requiring that

"Local school boards must consider the factor of racial balance along with other educational considerations in making decisions about selection of new school sites, expansion of present facilities . . . Each of these situations presents an opportunity for integration."

Defendant State Board's "School Plant Planning Handbook" requires that

"Care in site location must be taken if a serious transportation problem exists or if housing patterns in an area would result in a school largely segregated on racial, ethnic, or socio-economic lines."

The defendant City Board has paid little heed to these statements and guidelines. The State defendants have similarly failed to take any action to effectuate these policies. Exhibit NN reflects construction (new or additional) at 14 schools which opened for use in 1970-71; of these 14 schools, 11 opened over 90% black and one opened less than 10% black. School construction costing \$9,222,000 is opening at Northwestern High School which is 99.9% black, and new construction opens at Brooks Junior High, which is 1.5% black, at a cost of \$2,500,000. The construction at Brooks Junior High plays a dual segregatory role: not only is the construction segregated, it will result in a feeder pattern change which will remove the last majority white school from the already almost all-black Mackenzie High School attendance area.

Since 1959 the Board has constructed at least 13 small primary schools with capacities of from 300 to 400 pupils. This practice negates opportunities to integrate, "contains" the black population and perpetuates and compounds school segregation.

The State and its agencies, in addition to their general responsibility for and supervision of public education, have acted directly to control and maintain the pattern of segregation in the Detroit schools. The State refused, until this session of the legislature, to provide authorization or funds for the transportation of pupils within Detroit regardless of their poverty or distance from the school to which they were assigned, while providing in many neighboring, mostly white, suburban districts the full range of state supported transportation. This and other financial limitations, such as those on bonding and the working of the state aid formula whereby suburban districts were able to make far larger per pupil expenditures despite less tax effort, have created and perpetuated systematic educational inequalities.

The State, exercising what Michigan courts have held to be its "plenary power" which includes power "to use a statutory scheme, to create, alter, reorganize or even dissolve a school district, despite any desire of the school district, its board, or the inhabitants thereof," acted to reorganize the school district of the City of Detroit.

The State acted through Act 48 to impede, delay and minimize racial integration in Detroit schools. The first sentence of Sec. 12 of the Act was directly related to the April 7, 1970 desegregation plan. The remainder of the section sought to prescribe for each school in the eight districts criterion of "free choice" (open enrollment) and "neighborhood schools" ("nearest school priority acceptance"), which had as their purpose and effect the maintenance of segregation.

In view of our findings of fact already noted we think it unnecessary to parse in detail the activities of the local board and the state authorities in the area of school construction and the furnishing of school facilities. It is our conclusion that these activities were in keeping, generally, with the discriminatory practices which advanced or perpetuated racial segregation in these schools.

It would be unfair for us not to recognize the many fine steps the Board has taken to advance the cause of quality education for all in terms of racial integration and human relations. The most obvious of these is in the field of faculty integration.

Plaintiff's urge the Court to consider allegedly discriminatory practices of the Board with respect to the hiring, assignment and transfer of teachers and school administrators during a period reaching back more than 15 years. The short answer to that must be that black teachers and school administrative personnel were not readily available in that period. The Board and the intervening defendant union have followed a most advanced and exemplary course in adopting and carrying out what is called the "balanced staff concept"—which seeks to balance faculties in each school with respect to race, sex and experience, with primary emphasis on race. More particularly, we find:

1. With the exception of affirmative policies designed to achieve racial balance in instructional staff, no teacher in the Detroit Public Schools is hired, promoted or assigned to any school by reason of his race.

2. In 1956, the Detroit Board of Education adopted the rules and regulations of the Fair Employment Practices Act as its hiring and promotion policy and has adhered to this policy to date.

3. The Board has actively and affirmatively sought out and hired minority employees, particularly teachers and administrators, during the past decade.

4. Between 1960 and 1970, the Detroit Board of Education has increased black representation among its teachers from 23.3% to 42.1%, and among its administrators from 4.5% to 37.8%.

5. Detroit has a higher proportion of black administrators than any other city in the country.

6. Detroit ranked second to Cleveland in 1968 among the 20 largest northern city school districts in the percentage of blacks among the teaching faculty and in 1970 surpassed Cleveland by several percentage points.

7. The Detroit Board of Education currently employs black teachers in a greater percentage than the percentage of adult black persons in the City of Detroit.

8. Since 1967, more blacks than whites have been placed in high administrative posts with the Detroit Board of Education.

9. The allegation that the Board assigns black teachers to black schools is not supported by the record.

10. Teacher transfers are not granted in the Detroit Public Schools unless they conform with the balanced staff concept.

11. Between 1960 and 1970, the Detroit Board of Education reduced the percentage of schools without black faculty from 36.3% to 1.2% and of the four schools currently without black faculty, three are specialized trade schools where minority faculty cannot easily be secured.

12. In 1968, of the 20 largest northern city school districts, Detroit ranked fourth in the percentage of schools having one or more black teachers and third in the percentage of schools having three or more black teachers.

13. In 1970, the Board held open 240 positions in schools with less than 25% black, rejecting white applicants for these positions until qualified black applicants could be found and assigned.

14. In recent years, the Board has come under pressure from large segments of the black community to assign male black administrators to predominantly black schools to serve as male role models for students, but such assignments have been made only where consistent with the balanced staff concept.

15. The numbers and percentages of black teachers in Detroit increased from 2,275 and 21.6%, respectively, in February, 1961, to 5,106 and 41.6%, respectively, in October, 1970.

16. The number of schools by percent black of staffs changed from October, 1963 to October, 1970 as follows:

Number of schools without black teachers—decreased from 41, to 4.

Number of schools with more than 0%, but less than 10% black teachers—decreased from 58, to 8.

Total number of schools with less than 10% black teachers—decreased from 99, to 12.

Number of schools with 50% or more black teachers—increased from 72, to 124.

17. The number of schools by percent black of staffs changed from October, 1969 to October, 1970, as follows:

Number of schools without black teachers—decreased from 6, to 4.

Number of schools with more than 0%, but less than 10% black teachers—decreased from 41, to 8.

Total number of schools with less than 10% black teachers—decreased from 47, to 12.

Number of schools with 50% or more black teachers—increased from 120, to 124.

18. The total number of transfers necessary to achieve a faculty racial quota in each school corresponding to the system-wide ratio, and ignoring all other elements is, as of 1970, 1,826.

19. If account is taken of other elements necessary to assure quality integrated education, including qualifications to teach the subject area and grade level, balance of experience, and balance of sex, and further account is taken of the uneven

distribution of black teachers by subject taught and sex, the total number of transfers which would be necessary to achieve a faculty racial quota in each school corresponding to the system-wide ratio, if attainable at all, would be infinitely greater.

20. Balancing of staff by qualifications for subject, and grade level, then by race, experience and sex, is educationally desirable and important.

21. It is important for students to have a successful role model, especially black students in certain schools, and at certain grade levels.

22. A quota of racial balance for faculty in each school which is equivalent to the system-wide ratio and without more is educationally undesirable and arbitrary.

23. A severe teacher shortage in the 50s and 1960s impeded integration-of-faculty opportunities.

24. Disadvantageous teaching conditions in Detroit in the 1960s—salaries, pupil mobility and transiency, class size, building conditions, distance from teacher residence, shortage of teacher substitutes, etc.—made teacher recruitment and placement difficult.

25. The Board did not segregate faculty by race, but rather attempted to fill vacancies with certified and qualified teachers who would take offered assignments.

26. Teacher seniority in the Detroit system, although measured by system-wide service, has been applied consistently to protect against involuntary transfers and "bumping" in given schools.

27. Involuntary transfers of teachers have occurred only because of unsatisfactory ratings or because of decrease of teacher services in a school, and then only in accordance with balanced staff concept.

28. There is no evidence in the record that Detroit teacher seniority rights had other than equitable purpose or effect.

29. Substantial racial integration of staff can be achieved, without disruption of seniority and stable teaching relationships, by application of the balanced staff concept to naturally occurring vacancies and increases and reductions of teacher services.

30. The Detroit Board of Education has entered into successive collective bargaining contracts with the Detroit Federation of Teachers, which contracts have included provisions promoting integration of staff and students.

The Detroit School Board has, in many other instances and in many other respects, undertaken to lessen the impact of the forces of segregation and attempted to advance the cause of integration. Perhaps the most obvious one was the adoption of the April 7 Plan. Among other things, it has denied the use of its facilities to groups which practice racial discrimination; it does not permit the use of its facilities for discriminatory apprentice training programs; it has opposed state legislation which would have the effect of segregating the district; it has worked to place black students in craft positions in industry and the building trades; it has brought about a substantial increase in the percentage of black students in manufacturing and construction trade apprenticeship classes; it became the first public agency in Michigan to adopt and implement a policy requiring affirmative act of contractors with which it deals to insure equal employment opportunities in their work forces; it has been a leader in pioneering the use of multi-ethnic instrumental material, and in so doing has had an impact on publishers specializing in producing school texts and instrumental materials; and it has taken other noteworthy pioneering steps to advance relations between the white and black races.

In conclusion, however, we find that both the State of Michigan and the Detroit Board of Education have committed acts which have been causal factors in the segregated condition of the public schools of the City of Detroit. As we assay the principles essential to a finding of de jure segregation, as outlined in rulings of the United States Supreme Court, they are:

1. The State, through its officers and agencies, and usually, the school administration, must have taken some action or actions with a purpose of segregation.

2. This action or these actions must have created or aggravated segregation in the schools in question.

3. A current condition of segregation exists. We find these tests to have been met in this case. We recognize that causation in the case before us is both several and comparative. The principal causes undeniably have been population movement and housing patterns, but state and local governmental actions, including school board actions, have played a substantial role in promoting segregation. It is, the Court believes, unfortunate that we cannot deal with public school

segregation on a no-fault basis, for if racial segregation in our public schools is an evil, then it should make no difference whether we classify it *de jure* or *de facto*. Our objective, logically, it seems to us, should be to remedy a condition which we believe needs correction. In the most realistic sense, if fault or blame must be found it is that of the community as a whole, including, of course, the black components. We need not minimize the effect of the actions of federal, state and local governmental officers and agencies, and the actions of loaning institutions and real estate firms, in the establishment and maintenance of segregated residential patterns—which lead to school segregation—to observe that blacks, like ethnic groups in the past, have tended to separate from the larger group and associate together. The ghetto is at once both a place of confinement and a refuge. There is enough blame for everyone to share.

CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

1. This Court has jurisdiction of the parties and the subject matter of this action under 28 U.S.C. 1331(a), 1343 (3) and (4), and 2201 and 2202; 42 U.S.C. 1983, 1988, and 2000d.

2. In considering the evidence and in applying legal standards it is not necessary that the Court find that the policies and practices, which it has found to be discriminatory, have as their motivating forces any evil intent or motive. *Keyes v. Sch. Dist. #1, Denver*, 383 F. Supp. 279. Motive, ill will and bad faith have long ago been rejected as a requirement to invoke the protection of the Fourteenth Amendment against racial discrimination. *Sims v. Georgia*, 389 U.S. 404, 407-8.

3. School districts are accountable for the natural, probable and foreseeable consequences of their policies and practices, and where racially identifiable schools are the result of such policies, the school authorities bear the burden of showing that such policies are based on educationally required, non-racial considerations. *Keyes v. Sch. Dist.*, *supra*, and *Davis v. Sch. Dist. of Pontiac*, 309 F. Supp. 734, and 443 F.2d 573.

4. In determining whether a constitutional violation has occurred, proof that a pattern of racially segregated schools has existed for a considerable period of time amounts to a showing of racial classification by the state and its agencies, which must be justified by clear and convincing evidence. *State of Alabama v. U.S.*, 304 F.2d 583.

5. The Board's practice of shaping school attendance zones on a north-south rather than an east-west orientation, with the result that zone boundaries conformed to racial residential dividing lines, violated the Fourteenth Amendment. *Northcross v. Bd. of Ed., Memphis*, 333 F.2d 661.

6. Pupil racial segregation in the Detroit Public School System and the residential racial segregation resulting primarily from public and private racial discrimination are interdependent phenomena. The affirmative obligation of the defendant Board has been and is to adopt and implement pupil assignment practices and policies that compensate for and avoid incorporation into the school system the effects of residential racial segregation. The Board's building upon housing segregation violates the Fourteenth Amendment. See, *Davis v. Sch. Dist. of Pontiac*, *supra*, and authorities there noted.

7. The Board's policy of selective optional attendance zones, to the extent that it facilitated the separation of pupils on the basis of race, was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. *Hobson v. Hansen*, 269 F. Supp. 401, *aff'd sub nom., Smuck v. Hobson*, 408 F.2d 175.

8. The practice of the Board of transporting black students from overcrowded black schools to other identifiably black schools, while passing closer identifiably white schools, which could have accepted these pupils, amounted to an act of segregation by the school authorities. *Spangler v. Pasadena City Bd. of Ed.*, 311 F. Supp. 501.

9. The manner in which the Board formulated and modified attendance zones for elementary schools had the natural and predictable effect of perpetuating racial segregation of students. Such conduct is an act of *de jure* discrimination in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. *U.S. v. School District 151*, 286 F. Supp. 786; *Brewer v. City of Norfolk*, 397 F.2d 37.

10. A school board may not, consistent with the Fourteenth Amendment, maintain segregated elementary schools or permit educational choices to be influenced by community sentiment or the wishes of a majority of voters. *Cooper v. Aaron*, 358 U.S. 1, 12-13, 15-16.

"A citizen's constitutional rights can hardly be infringed simply because a majority of the people choose that it be." *Lucas v. 44th Gen'l Assembly of Colorado*, 377 U.S. 713, 736-737.

11. Under the Constitution of the United States and the constitution and laws of the State of Michigan, the responsibility for providing educational opportunity to all children on constitutional terms is ultimately that of the state. *Turner v. Warren County Board of Education*, 313 F. Supp. 380; Art. VIII, §§ 1 and 2, Mich. Constitution; *Dasiewicz v. Bd. of Ed. of the City of Detroit*, 3 N.W. 2d 71.

12. That a states form of government may delegate the power of daily administration of public schools to officials with less than state-wide jurisdiction does not dispel the obligation of those who have broader control to use the authority they have consistently with the constitution. In such instances the constitutional obligation toward the individual school children is a shared one. *Bradley v. Sch. Bd., City of Richmond*, 51 F.R.D. 139, 143.

13. Leadership and general supervision over all public education is vested in the State Board of Education. Art. VIII, § 3, Mich. Constitution of 1963. The duties of the State Board and superintendent include, but are not limited to, specifying the number of hours necessary to constitute a school day; approval until 1962 of school sites; approval of school construction plans; accreditation of schools; approval of loans based on state aid funds; review of suspensions and expulsions of individual students for misconduct [Op. Atty. Gen., July 7, 1970, No. 4705]; authority over transportation routes and disbursement of transportation funds; teacher certification and the like. M.S.A. 15.1023(1). State law provides review procedures from actions of local or intermediate districts (See M.S.A. 15.3442), with authority in the State Board to ratify, reject, amend or modify the actions of these inferior state agencies. See M.S.A. 15.3467; 15.1919(61); 15.1919(68b); 15.2299(1); 15.1961; 15-3402; *Bridgehampton School District No. 2 Fractional of Carsonville, Mich. v. Supt. of Public Instruction*, 323 Mich. 615. In general, the state superintendent is given the duty "[t]o do all things necessary to promote the welfare of the public schools and public educational instructions and provide proper educational facilities for the youth of the state." M.S.A. 15.3252. See also M.S.A. 15.2299(57), providing in certain instances for reorganization of school districts.

14. State officials, including all of the defendants, are charged under the Michigan constitution with the duty of providing pupils an education without discrimination with respect to race. Art. VIII, § 2, Mich. Constitution of 1963. Art. I, § 2, of the constitution provides:

"No person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws; nor shall any person be denied the enjoyment of his civil or political rights or be discriminated against in the exercise thereof because of religion, race, color or national origin. The legislature shall implement this section by appropriate legislation."

15. The State Department of Education has recently established an Equal Educational Opportunities section having responsibility to identify racially imbalanced school districts and develop desegregation plans. M.S.A. 15.3355 provides that no school or department shall be kept for any person or persons on account of race or color.

16. The state further provides special funds to local districts for compensatory education which are administered on a per school basis under direct review of the State Board. All other state aid is subject to fiscal review and accounting by the state. M.S.A. 15.1919. See also M.S.A. 15.1919(68b), providing for special supplements to merged districts "for the purpose of bringing about uniformity of educational opportunity for all pupils of the district" The general consolidation law M.S.A. 15.3401 authorizes annexation for even noncontiguous school districts upon approval of the superintendent of public instruction and electors, as provided by law. Op. Atty. Cten., Feb. 5, 1964, No. 4193. Consolidation with respect to so-called "first class" districts, i.e., Detroit, is generally treated as an annexation with the first class district being the surviving entity. The law provides procedures covering all necessary considerations. M.S.A. 15.3184, 15.3186.

17. Where a pattern of violation of constitutional rights is established the affirmative obligation under the Fourteenth Amendment is imposed on not only individual school districts, but upon the State defendants in this case. *Cooper v. Aaron*, 358 U.S. 1; *Griffin v. County School Board of Prince Edward County*, 337 U.S. 218; *U.S. v. State of Georgia*, Civ. No. 12972 (N.D. Ga., December 17, 1970), *rev'd on other grounds*, 428 F.2d 377; *Godwin v. Johnston County Board of Edu-*

cation, 301 F. Supp. 1337; *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, 267 F. Supp. 458 (M.D. Ala.), *aff'd sub nom.*, *Wallace v. U.S.*, 389 U.S. 215; *Franklin v. Quitman County Board of Education*, 288 F. Supp. 509; *Smith v. North Carolina State Board of Education*, No. 15,072 (4th Cir., June 14, 1971).

The foregoing constitutes our findings of fact and conclusions of law on the issue of segregation in the public schools of the City of Detroit.

Having found a de jure segregated public school system in operation in the City of Detroit, our first step, in considering what judicial remedial steps must be taken, is the consideration of intervening parent defendants' motion to add as parties defendant a great number of Michigan school districts located out county in Wayne County, and in Macomb and Oakland Counties, on the principal premise or ground that effective relief cannot be achieved or ordered in their absence. Plaintiffs have opposed the motion to join the additional school districts, arguing that the presence of the State defendants is sufficient and all that is required, even if, in shaping a remedy, the affairs of these other districts will be affected.

In considering the motion to add the listed school districts we pause to note that the proposed action has to do with relief. Having determined that the circumstances of the case require judicial intervention and equitable relief, it would be improper for us to act on this motion until the other parties to the action have had an opportunity to submit their proposals for desegregation. Accordingly, we shall not rule on the motion to add parties at this time. Considered as a plan for desegregation the motion is lacking in specificity and is framed in the broadest general terms. The moving party may wish to amend its proposal and resubmit it as a comprehensive plan of desegregation.

In order that the further proceedings in this cause may be conducted on a reasonable time schedule, and because the views of counsel respecting further proceedings cannot but be of assistance to them and to the Court, this cause will be set down for pre-trial conference on the matter of relief. The conference will be held in our Courtroom in the City of Detroit at ten o'clock in the morning, October 4, 1971.

Dated September 27, 1971.

STEPHEN J. ROTH,
United States District Judge.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, EASTERN DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN,
SOUTHERN DIVISION

CIVIL ACTION No. 35257

RONALD BRADLEY, ET AL., PLAINTIFFS

vs.

WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN, ET AL., DEFENDANTS

DETROIT FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, LOCAL 231, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS,
AFL-CIO, DEFENDANT-INTERVENOR

and

DENISE MAGDOWSKI, ET AL., DEFENDANTS-INTERVENOR

FINDINGS OF FACT AND CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

This action was commenced August 18, 1970, by plaintiffs, the Detroit Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and individual parents and students, on behalf of a class later defined by order of the Court dated February 16, 1971, to include all school children of the City of Detroit and all Detroit resident parents who have children of school age. Defendants are the Board of Education of the City of Detroit, its members and its former superintendent of schools, Dr. Norman A. Drachler, the Governor, Attorney General, State Board of Education and State Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan. In their complaint, plaintiffs attacked a statute of the State of Michigan known as Act 48 of the 1970 Legislature on the ground that it put the State of Michigan in the position of unconstitutionally interfering with the execution and operation of a voluntary plan of partial high school desegregation (known as the April 7, 1970 Plan) which had been adopted

by the Detroit Board of Education to be effective beginning with the fall 1970 semester. Plaintiffs also alleged that the Detroit Public School System was and is segregated on the basis of race as a result of the official policies and actions of the defendants and their predecessors in office.

Additional parties have intervened in the litigation since it was commenced. The Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) which represents a majority of Detroit public school teachers in collective bargaining negotiations with the defendant Board of Education, has intervened as a defendant, and a group of parents has intervened as defendants.

Initially the matter was tried on plaintiffs' motion for preliminary injunction to restrain the enforcement of Act 48 so as to permit the April 7 Plan to be implemented. On that issue, this Court initially ruled that plaintiffs were not entitled to a preliminary injunction since there had been no proof that Detroit was a segregated school system. The Court of Appeals held, however, that any such interference by the state with a determination of a local school board to pursue the goals of racial equality was forbidden and that, at a minimum, the state must pursue a course of scrupulous neutrality and avoid steps whose effect can only be to heighten or maintain racial segregation. 433 F. 2d 897 (6th Cir. 1970).

The plaintiffs then sought to have this Court direct the defendant Detroit Board to implement the April 7 Plan by the start of the second semester in order to remedy the deprivation of constitutional rights wrought by the unconstitutional statute. In response to an order of the Court, defendants suggested two other plans in addition to the April 7 Plan which they contended would result in integration promised by the April 7 Plan. The Court, although concluding that in this context "nonaction is (or amounts to) prohibited action," rejected the Plaintiffs' arguments against the "magnet" plan at that time and approved it rather than ordering April 7 implemented. Again, plaintiffs appealed but the appellate court refused to pass on the merits of the plan. Instead, the case was remanded with instructions to proceed immediately to a trial on the merits of plaintiffs' substantive allegations about the Detroit School System. 438 F. 2d 945 (6th Cir. 1971).

That trial began April 6, 1971 and concluded on July 22, 1971 consuming forty-one trial days along with several brief recesses necessitated by demands upon the time of Court and counsel. Plaintiffs introduced substantial evidence in support of their contentions, including expert and factual testimony, demonstrative exhibits and School Board documents. At the close of plaintiffs' case in chief, the Court ruled that they had presented a prima facie case of state imposed segregation in the Detroit Public Schools; accordingly, the Court enjoined (with certain exceptions) all further school construction in Detroit pending the outcome of the litigation.

The Court has also denied the motion to dismiss filed by the state defendants at the conclusion of plaintiffs' case in chief. The proof adduced by the plaintiffs was not solely limited to the role played by the Detroit Board, its predecessors and employees, in bringing about the present highly segregated condition of the public schools. It also demonstrated inescapably that the State of Michigan and its agencies have by acts and omissions seemingly violative of its obligation under the Michigan Constitution, contributed toward bringing about this result. Furthermore, one of the intervening defendants has filed a motion to require 85 suburban school districts to participate in any school desegregation the Court might order.

On the basis of the proofs presented at trial and at the previous hearings in this cause, the Court makes the following findings of fact and conclusions of law.²

FINDINGS OF FACT

1. During the 1970-71 school year defendant Detroit Board of Education operated 282 regular attendance-area schools, enrolling 277,578 students of whom 177,079, or 63.8%, were Negro.³ [P.X. 128B, 152A].

² "P.X." and "D.X." references are to plaintiffs' exhibits and defendants' exhibits, respectively. Citations to the trial transcript are in the form "____ Tr. ____" indicating the volume and page numbers (e.g., 20 Tr. 2000). Citations to transcripts of previous hearings are preceded by the hearing date (e.g., 11/4/70 Tr. 100). Citations to depositions which have been admitted into evidence are in similar form.

³ In addition the Board operated 23 various non-attendance area schools enrolling 8,130 student of whom 5,386 were black (P.X. 100J at p. 127). The Board also had 4,146 students, of whom 1,798 were black, enrolled in special adult programs. (P.X. 100J at p. 6).

2. These figures compare with 251 attendance-area [hereinafter, "regular"] schools in operation in 1960-61 with an enrollment of 275,021 of whom 126,278, or 45.9%, were black. [P.X. 128A 152A].

3. Of the 251 regular schools in operation in 1960-61, 171 or 68% were 90% or more one race (71 black, 100 white). [P.X. 150, 128A]. Of the 282 regular schools in current operation, 202 or 71.6% serve student enrollments which are 90% or more one race (133 are black, 69 are white). [P.X. 150, 128B].

4. In 1960-61, 65.8% of the total number of black students in regular schools were in schools 90% or more black. In 1970-71 the percentage of black students in schools 90% or more black had increased to 74.9%. [P.X. 129; 32 Tr. 3382-83].

5. Every school which was 90% or more black in 1960, and which is still in use today, remains 90% or more black [P.X. 150; 32 Tr. 3381-82].

6. In 1960-61 there were 9,884 teachers, of whom 2,366 or 23.9% were black, assigned to regular schools. In 1970-71, 11,616 teachers of whom 4,853 or 41.8% were black, were assigned to regular schools. [P.X. 152; cf. P.X. 100J at p. 2 showing all faculties 1960-61 to 1970-71.]

7. In 1963 there were 99 schools with instructional staffs less than 10% black (of which 41 had no black staff members) and 72 schools with instructional staffs 50% or more black. By 1970-71 the Board had reduced to 12 the number of schools with less than 10% black faculties, but the number of schools with 50% or more black faculties had increased to 124. [P.X. 100J at p. 3].

8. The public schools operated by defendant Board are thus segregated on a racial basis. This racial segregation is the result of the discriminatory acts and omissions of defendant Board, which include the following:

A. FACULTY

9. Prior to 1962 the Board operated an admittedly discriminatory policy and practice of faculty assignment. [38 Tr. 4340]. Until 1955 the Board assigned black teachers to schools which were predominantly black, but never assigned black teachers to schools which were 50% or more white. [20 Tr. 2185]. Until 1964 no black person was ever made Principal of a high school. [20 Tr. 2185-86].

10. In 1962 the Board-appointed Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities found:

As to placement of teachers, the subcommittee finds that, with only a few exceptions, Negro teachers are placed only where there are Negro children in attendance at school.

[P.X. 3 at p. 75; see also 20 Tr. 2812]. The EEO Committee further found, and the evidence demonstrates, "that there is a tendency for the proportion of Negro teachers in a school to increase as the proportion of Negro pupils increases." [P.X. 3 at 75]. For example, in 1955 Central High School was 70% white but incurred faculty integration for the first time with the assignment of a black counselor and a black teacher. But by 1970 Central was 100% black and its faculty was 55.9% black [20 Tr. 2180; P.X. 130], whereas the system-wide faculty was only 41.8% black. [P.X. 152B] See generally P.X. 3 at 76.

11. The 1962 EEO finding (P.X. 3 at 73)

that the Board of Education has followed a practice of (1) assigning Negro teachers predominantly within certain districts where there are large numbers of Negro pupils, and (2) assigning Negro teachers chiefly to racially mixed schools, in many cases on a proportional basis. If there are no Negro children in a school, no Negro teachers are assigned there; this rule has few exceptions to date.

is clearly demonstrated by the testimony and exhibits. [P.X. 3 at 72-79 (esp. map facing p. 78), 92-134 (appendices—esp. graphs on pp. 98-106); P.X. 154A].

12. The EEO Committee further found "that placement of teachers by the Detroit Board of Education follows in general, and with some departures, a definite racial pattern . . . [and that] Data also show that Negro administrators are placed only where Negro children and Negro teachers are in the majority." [P.X. 3 at 79]. The Court finds that the discriminatory assignment of administrators persists, as is shown by the following table taken from the October 1970 racial census, P.X. 100J, p. 10-20 (see also 22Tr. 2511-13):

Predominately white Constellations:	Administrators
Cody	3 Negro, 55 white
Ford	3 Negro, 41 white
Redford	1 Negro, 46 white
Osborn	2 Negro, 42 white
Denby	1 Negro, 30 white
Finney	8 Negro, 44 white

Predominately black Constellations:

King -----	35 Negro, 22 white
Central -----	23 Negro, 23 white
Northwestern -----	25 Negro, 23 white
Northern -----	24 Negro, 24 white
Northeastern -----	30 Negro, 29 white

13. The EEO committee further found, and the evidence demonstrates, discriminatory practices regarding the placement of ESRPs and probationary teachers. "[W]henver Emergency Substitutes or Probationary I's and II's are Negroes, they are assigned to only 5 of the 9 districts." [P.X. 3 at 74]. The Committee further found "that a large number of . . . [ESRPs and probationary teachers] are currently assigned to 3 [black] district—the Center, Southeast and East Districts . . ." [P.X. 3 at 83, 96-97].

14. In 1963 the Committee on Schools of the Detroit Commission on Human Relations reported to the Board its appraisal of "the regular opportunities of the administrative staff to place personnel on the basis of qualifications and preparation." The Commission "found that in 1960-61, 51% of the school personnel were involved in personnel transactions, and in the following year, 54% or 10,429 contract personnel were involved. Many of these changes represented significant opportunities to demonstrate a pattern of teacher assignment without regard to race." [P.X. 177 at 2]. The Commission found that despite these opportunities the conditions reported by the 1962 EEO Committee "remains virtually unchanged." Again, in 1964, the same group, at the request of the Board, examined the 1963 racial count data. Their findings reported to the Board and which are uncontradicted in this record were (P.X. 178 at 2-3):

In October, 1963, Negro teachers were not assigned on the staff of 56 of the city's 281 schools. Not one of the city's 2,592 Negro teachers were assigned to 52 (or 25%) of the elementary schools and 4 of the junior high schools.

In October, 1963, those schools which had from 0 to 4 Negro teachers on their staff numbered 135, or approximately one half of the city's schools. In these 135 schools, a total of 182 (or 7%) of the Negro teachers were found. 3,428 white teachers were on the faculties of these 135 schools.

In October, 1963, those schools which had 5 or more Negro teachers on their staffs numbered 146, or approximately the remaining one half of the city's schools. In these 146 schools, a total of 2,410 (or 93%) of the Negro teachers were found. 3,759 white teachers were on these school faculties.

In March, 1963, it was found that as the number of Negro pupils in any particular school increased, the number of Negro teachers in that school also increased.

In the 135 schools with 0 to 4 Negro teachers on their staffs, 6% or 9,082 Negro pupils were found and 7%, or 182 Negro teachers were found.

In the remaining 146 schools with 5 or more Negro teachers on their staffs, 94%, or 141,844 Negro pupils were found and 93%, or 2,410 Negro teachers were found.

In October, 1963, 102 elementary schools were found in the category of from 0 to 4 Negro teachers on their staff. Between March 30, 1963 and October 1, 1963, 385 placements were made in these 102 elementary schools. The result of these 385 placements was the net addition of only 35 Negro teachers to these faculties.

In October, 1963, 52 elementary schools had no Negro teachers on their staffs. 10 of these 52 schools which acquired no Negro teachers before October, 1963, expanded their faculties by a total of 33 additional teachers between March and October, 1963.

In the 4 new schools with predominantly Negro student bodies, a total of 144 teachers were placed. 79, or about 50% of these 144 teachers were Negro teachers.

In the 3 new schools with almost completely white student bodies, 104 teachers were assigned. Only 5 of the 104 teachers were Negro teachers.

15. On September 18, 1964, Judge Kaess entered "Interim Findings" in *Sherill School Parents Committee, et al., v. The Board of Education of the School District of the City of Detroit*, Civ. No. 22092 (E.D. Mich.), recommending, *inter alia*,

that: The Board should commit itself to the immediate and substantial reduction of the number of schools in which there are no Negro teachers and other professional personnel. Substantial integration of faculty and professional personnel should be achieved in all schools by the beginning of February, 1965 term. [P.X.6].

16. In 1968 the Board-appointed High School Study Commission examined, among other things, the racial composition of the faculty at two black (Central and Northwestern) and two white (Cody and Redford) high schools. In *The Report of the High School Study Commission* (P.X. 107), the Subcommittee on Personnel, chaired by Deputy Superintendent Authur Johnson, found, with regard to these four high schools, that:

The percentage of Negro teachers, while being very low in the "fringe" schools, approaches 50 per cent in the two "inner" schools. The percentage of Negro teachers corresponds to the Negro population of the student body. [P.X. 107 at 294]. The Commission also found that "more experienced and older teachers are found in the fringe schools than in the inner schools" and that "[t]he inner schools tend to have a larger percentage of relatively inexperienced, young teachers." [P.X. 107 at 298].

17. Yet, this discriminatory pattern of faculty assignment persists at the present time. During the 1970-71 school year disproportionate numbers of black teachers were assigned to predominantly black schools and disproportionate numbers of white teachers were assigned to predominantly white schools; the prevailing pattern of assignment is that the percentage black of school faculties substantially correlates with the percentage black of student bodies. [P.X. 154C; Joint X. FFFF⁴; 15 Tr. 1611-21 22 Tr. 2506-18 (Foster); 38 Tr. 4340 (Johnson); see Finding 7, *supra*; P.X. 161A-C, 162A-C, 165A-C, 166 (hourglass); 16 Tr. 1805-10]. As Deputy Superintendent Johnson testified, this persisting racial pattern of faculty assignments "is the result of discrimination." [38 Tr. 4340].

18. Additionally, ESRPs continue to be assigned more heavily to black schools than to white schools and teachers in the lower salary classes are disproportionately placed in black schools, while white schools are assigned a disproportionate number of teachers in the higher salary classes. [P.X. 161A-C, 162A-C; 16 Tr. 1779-91].

19. Thus, the range of faculty distribution factors, including race, qualifications and experience, continues to reflect a discriminatory pattern.

B. PUPILS

20. In 1962 the EEO Committee found (P.X. 3 at 61):

Numerous public schools in Detroit are presently segregated by race. The allegation that purposeful administrative devices have at times been used to perpetuate segregation in some schools is clearly substantiated. It is necessary that the Board and its administration intensify their recent efforts to desegregate the public schools.

This finding is substantially corroborated by the evidence and defendants have failed to present any compelling justification for the policies and practices set forth below which had natural, probable and actual segregatory effects.

21. An assistant superintendent, Charles Wells, testified from the minutes of the EEO committee (P.X. 105 at p. 478) with respect to a letter presented to the Committee by the Citizens' Association for Better Schools (of which Mr. Wells was a member) at an EEO meeting in 1960 attended by Mr. Wells. After outlining the hopes and dreams of equal educational opportunities of Detroit's black citizens, particularly the hopes inspired by the favorable millage vote in 1959, the Association stated:

Their [black people] first disillusionment occurred only a few months, but yet a few weeks after the passage of the millage—they were rewarded with the creation of the present Center District. In effect this District, with a few minor exceptions, created a segregated school system. It accomplished with a few marks of the crayon on the map, the return of the Negro child from the few instances of an integrated school exposure, to the traditional predominantly unracial school system to which he had formerly been accustomed in the City of Detroit [Protestations] resulted in only rationalizations concerning segregated housing patterns, and denials of any attempts to segregate. When it was pointed out that regardless of motiva-

⁴ Joint Exhibit FFFF was prepared and marked for identification by defendant Board, but made a joint exhibit when plaintiffs noted it and offered it. [40 Tr. 4613]. The exhibit shows a high correlation between percentage black of faculties and percentage black of pupils in each school.

tion, that segregation was the result of their boundary changes, little compromise was effected, except in one or two instances, where opposition leadership was most vocal and aggressive.

[20 Tr. 2245-46]. These charges, joined in by Mr. Wells, were supported with statistical data showing the disproportionate size, inferior facilities and unequal resources relegated to the Center District. [See generally 20 Tr. 2243-52]. The Center District exemplified "a policy of containment of minority groups within specified boundaries." [20 Tr. 2247-48]. Its boundary line was described as "look[ing] like the coastline of the Eastern United States where the Negro population is on one side and the white population on the other." [20 Tr. 2255]. This testimony is supported by the evidence in the record and was in no way questioned by the defendants.

22. Deputy Superintendent Johnson acknowledged that there had been discriminatory practices and that "we still live with the results of discriminatory practices." [38 Tr. 4347].

23. During the decade beginning in 1950 the Board created and maintained optional attendance zones in neighborhoods undergoing racial transition and between high school attendance areas of opposite predominant racial compositions. [32 Tr. 3420-21, 3423-28 (Hendrickson); 13 Tr. 1396-98, 1406-78 (Foster); 1 Tr. 28-32 (Former Board President Stephens)]. In 1959 there were 8 basic optional attendance areas [P.X. 109A (1959-60 overlay)] affecting 21 schools.⁵ [P.X. 155A at p. 44; 15 Tr. 1667, 1677 (Foster)] The natural, probable and actual effect of these optional zones was to allow white youngsters to escape identifiably "black" schools. [13 Tr. 1478-84, 15 Tr. 1677 (Foster); 32 Tr. 3421, 3423-28 (Hendrickson); P.X. 132; P.X. 109A-L, 78A-L, 136B and 136C]. [There had also been an optional zone (eliminated between 1956 and 1959, 32 Tr. 3385) created in "an attempt acted out . . . to separate Jews and Gentiles within the system" (26 Tr. 2822), the effect of which was that Jewish youngsters went to Mumford High School and Gentile youngsters went to Cooley (32 Tr. 3384). See also Drachler Deposition de bene esse (6/28/71) at pp. 36-37]. Although many of these optional areas had served their purpose by 1960⁶ due to the fact that most of the areas had become predominantly black [P.X. 136B (1960 census map)], one optional area (Southwestern-Western affecting Wilson Junior High graduates) continued until the present school year (and will continue to affect 11th and 12th grade white youngsters who elected to escape from predominantly black Southwestern to predominantly white Western high school).⁷ [32 Tr. 3425-27; P.X. 132, 138]. Mr. Hendrickson, the Board's general fact witness who was employed in 1959 to, *inter alia*, eliminate optional areas, noted in 1967 that: "In operation Western appears to be still the school to which white students escape from predominantly Negro surrounding schools." (32 Tr. 3390; P.X. 138 at p. 12).

⁵ Optional attendance areas provided pupils living within certain elementary areas a choice of attendance at one of two high schools. [32 Tr. 3420]. In addition there was at least one optional area either created or existing in 1960 between two junior high schools of opposite predominant racial components. [13 Tr. 1474-78; 11 Tr. 1234]. All of the high school optional areas, except 2, were in neighborhoods undergoing racial transition (from white to black) during the 1950s. The two exceptions were: (1) the option between Southwestern (61.6% black in 1960) and Western (15.3% black); (2) the option between Denby (0% black) and Southeastern (30.9% black). [P.X. 128A]. With the exception of the Denby-Southeastern option (just noted) all of the options were between high schools of opposite predominant racial compositions. The Southwestern-Western and Denby-Southeastern optional areas are all white on the 1950, 1960 and 1970 census maps. [P.X. 136A-C, 109A]. Both Southwestern and Southeastern, however, had substantial white pupil populations, and the option allowed whites to escape integration. [13 Tr. 1454-63, 1463-74].

⁶ Mr. Hendrickson admitted, however, that even in 1959 some of the optional areas "can be said to have frustrated integration and continued over the decade." [32 Tr. 3421].

⁷ The Board had eliminated the other optional areas by 1965 (P.X. 109G). With regard to two such areas (Sherrill and Winterhalter-McKerrow) the effect by 1960 was that black students were electing to attend white high schools. In both instances the Board initially proposed to eliminate the optional area by including it in the black high school zone. Both proposals resulted in community opposition and one resulted in the Sherrill School lawsuit. [20 Tr. 2256-57 (Wells)].

The effect of eliminating this optional area (which affected only 10th graders for the 1970-71 school year) was to decrease Southwestern from 86.7% black in 1969 to 74.3% black in 1970.⁸ [P.X. 128B].⁹

24. The Board, in operation of its transportation to relieve overcrowding policy, has admittedly bused black pupils past or away from closer white schools with available space to black schools, [32 Tr. 3405-06, 3413-15, 3856-63, 3872-78; 14 Tr. 1489-1507; 15 Tr. 1621-42; 29 Tr. 2253]. This practice has continued in several instances in recent years despite the Board's avowed policy, adopted in 1967, to utilize transportation to increase integration. [10 Tr. 1133-48, 1150-61; 11 Tr. 1187-90, 1198-1202; 32 Tr. 3402; 15 Tr. 1629, 1633-41; Drachler deposition de bene esse at 50-51]. Even when the Board, prior to 1962, bused black pupils to white schools, it did so under its "intact busing" (busing by grade, class and teacher) practice which kept black youngsters segregated in the receiving schools. [8/28/70 Tr. 140-41; P.X. 3 at 62; 15 Tr. 1622-24]. These practices had natural, probable and actual segregatory effects and denied black children equal educational opportunities. [38 Tr. 4347 (Johnson)].

25. With one exception, (necessitated by the burning of a white school), defendant Board has never bused white children to predominantly black schools.¹⁰ [32 Tr. 3403 (Hendrickson); 20 Tr. 1401 (Kennedy)]¹¹

26. Prior to 1966 defendant Board operated under an open enrollment policy, which permitted any pupil to transfer to any school in the system with available space [8/27/70 Tr. 50-52 (Drachler); 15 Tr. 1644-54, 22 Tr. 2519-20 (Foster); 35 Tr. 3910-11 (Hendrickson)]. On September 18, 1964, Judge Kaess entered "Interim Findings" in *Sherrill School Parents Committee, et al., v. The Board of Educ. of the School District of the City of Detroit*, Civ. No. 22092 (E.D. Mich.), concluding, *inter alia*, that:

The present "Open School" program does not appear to be achieving substantial student integration in the Detroit School System presently or within the foreseeable future. Accordingly, the Board should commit itself to devise and propose other methods of speeding up the racial integration of students. The goal should be the achievement of substantial student integration in all High Schools and Junior High Schools by the beginning of the February, 1965 term. [P.X. 6].

The Board, with one member dissenting, expressed complete agreement with these findings on April 20, 1965. [P.X. 6A] Yet it was not until September, 1966, that the open enrollment policy was modified to require that any transfer thereunder have a favorable effect upon integration at the receiving school. [35 Tr. 3910; P.X. 138 at 9 and 11]. Although some black pupils had elected to go to predominantly white schools, "the greater effect of the policy to that date [September, 1966] had been to draw white students away from inner city schools." [P.X. 138 at 11; 35 Tr. 3910-11]. Even under the post-1966 policy the favorable effect on integration has been negligible, with some black students continuing to elect predominantly white schools, but almost no white students opting for predominantly black schools. [32 Tr. 3411; 35 Tr. 3913-14; 13 Tr.

⁸ The effect, in numbers, was that some 300 white pupils who had been escaping Southwestern throughout the decade were now required to attend a predominantly black high school. The elimination of this optional area was part of the Board's April plan: "The changes [under the April 7 plan] affect 18 junior high school feeder patterns out of 55 and will influence 12 senior high schools. The changes on the sheet indicate all graduates from Wilson will be going to Southwestern. . . ." [D.X. F, Board Minutes of April 7, 1970 at p. 504 (Drachler's presentation of the April 7 plan)].

⁹ The Board failed to present any valid, not to mention compelling, justification for its optional attendance policy and practice. Dr. Foster found no valid administrative reasons for creation or maintenance of any of the optional areas. [13 Tr. 1406-85]. The Board spent much time talking about the relative capacities of the various high schools involved in options. Even if there were capacity problems, this is an insufficient administrative justification, for it is clear that capacity problems are more easily and predictably eliminated by establishment of firm attendance boundaries, rather than the use of the more unpredictable technique of creating options.

¹⁰ One of the most flagrant discriminatory uses of busing occurred in the transportation, from 1955-1962, of black junior high pupils from the black Jeffries public housing project to black Hutchins Junior High in another high school constellation, rather than allow them to walk across the street to the majority white Jefferson Junior High. Although Jefferson Junior High was at capacity, the Board could have assigned white students from the Tilden Elementary area in the northern-most part of the Jefferson zone (and much closer to Hutchins than Jeffries project) to Hutchins, thereby making available space for the Jeffries project youngsters at Jefferson. [P.X. 109M (small overlay); 14 Tr. 1480-1507 (Foster); 32 Tr. 3407, 3872-78 (Hendrickson)].

¹¹ The Board has persisted in refusing to bus white pupils to black schools despite the enormous amount of space available in inner-city schools. [35 Tr. 3901-07; P.X. 181 (small under capacity overlay)]. There are 22,961 vacant seats in schools 90% or more black. [P.X. 131].

1401]. The policy continues to focus on the receiving school and permits white students to transfer from black schools to schools which are less black. [20 Tr. 2190-92; 13 Tr. 1401]. Furthermore, pupil transfers for obviously racial reasons have been and continue to be regularly allowed. [17 Tr. 1870-72, 1881-1900 (Edmundson); P.X. 168; 32 Tr. 3388-91 (Hendrickson); P.X. 138 at pp. 2 and 12].

27. The Board has created and altered attendance zones, maintained and altered grade structures and created and altered feeder school patterns in a manner which has had the natural, probable and actual effect of containing black and white pupils in racially segregated schools. [14 Tr. 1489 to 15 Tr. 1610, 1680-81 (Foster)]. The Board admits at least one instance (Higginbotham) where it purposefully and intentionally built and maintained a school and its attendance zone to contain black students. [35 Tr. 3926 (Hendrickson); 20 Tr. 2253-50 (Wells); 14 Tr. 1523-26 (Foster)]. Numerous similar examples have been presented, and the Board has failed to carry its explanatory burden.¹²

And even next year the Board plans on removing the last predominantly white elementary school (Ford) from the black Mackenzie high school feeder pattern, the only justification being that the regional board so willed. [32 Tr. 3417 (Hendrickson)]. Even in two of the 8 changes (including elimination of 3 optional areas) during the decade which the Board points to as improving integration, subsequent changes negated or modified the meager results.¹³ [35 Tr. 3863-71 (Hendrickson)]. Throughout the last decade (and presently) school attendance zones of opposite racial compositions have been separated by north-south boundary lines, despite the Board's awareness (since at least 1962) that drawing boundary lines in an east-west direction would result in significant integration. [P.X. 105 at p. 450 (Minutes of EEO Committee); Drachler deposition de bene esse at 156-77; 11/4/70 Tr. 38 (Drachler); 35 Tr. 3853-56 (Hendrickson); P.X. at 7; 15 Tr. 1699-1707 (Foster)]. And although the Board was specifically aware, since at least 1967, of contiguous attendance zones which could be paired or altered to accomplish integration, it has failed to act. [32 Tr. 3435-40; P.X. 138]. The natural and actual effect of these acts and failures to act has been the creation and perpetuation of school segregation.

28. There has never been a feeder pattern or zoning change which placed a predominantly white residential area into a predominantly black school zone or feeder pattern. [32 Tr. 3404].

29. Every school which was 90% or more black in 1960, and which is still in use today, remains 90% or more black [P.X. 150; 32 Tr. 3381-82].

30. Whereas 65.8% of Detroit's black students attended 90% or more black schools in 1960, 74.9% of the black students attended 90% or more black schools during the 1970-71 school year. [P.X. 129; 32 Tr. 3382].

C. SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

31. Between 1940 and 1958 the Board constructed 36 new elementary schools and 4 new high schools, and additions to 55 elementary schools, 1 junior high school and 3 high schools, for a total additional capacity sufficient to house

¹² As long ago as 1967 Mr. Hendrickson pointed out various obvious examples (e.g., Burton-Franklin area; Wilson-McMillan Junior High area) where boundary lines separated white and black school zones which could easily be integrated by simple boundary line revisions. [32 Tr. 3435-40; accord 14 Tr. 1507-11, 15 Tr. 1699-1707 (Foster)]. The Board has changed the Vandenburg-Vernor (14 Tr. 1513-1518), Jackson Junior High (14 Tr. 1534-36), Davison-White (15 Tr. 1590-95), Parkman (15 Tr. 1596-1601), Sampson (15 Tr. 1608-10) and other zone lines and feeder patterns in a manner which has created and perpetuated racial segregation in the schools. [15 Tr. 1630]. The Board has created and maintained the Higginbotham (14 Tr. 1513-18), Hally (14 Tr. 1528-29), and North-western-Chadsey (15 Tr. 1603-08) attendance areas in a segregatory manner. Defendants respond to these and similar examples generally by pointing out capacity problems and the desire to maintain articulated feeder patterns. These proffered justifications are unconvincing, if for no other reason because of the inconsistency of their application. For example, the Board attempts to justify the removal of the white Parkman elementary from the black Mackenzie High feeder pattern by pointing out that the receiving white high school (Cody) was much less overcrowded than Mackenzie. Yet, at the same time Cooley (predominantly black) was similarly less overcrowded than white Redford, but the Board made no change in the feeder patterns. [32 Tr. 3415-19]. The articulated feeder pattern principle has not been, nor is it now, a valid justification for maintaining or failing to alleviate segregation. This principle was violated in feeder patterns such as the Custer in 1959-61 (35 Tr. 3865-67) and the Davison in 1969-present (35 Tr. 3868-71), which had the effect of creating and perpetuating segregation. And the concept was wholly disregarded in the feeder patterns proposed in the April 7 plan. [35 Tr. 3853-56 (Hendrickson)].

¹³ The two negative changes were the return of black Custer to the black Central High feeder pattern (35 Tr. 3865-68, 3871-72), and the return of black Davison from the white Osborn feeder pattern to the predominantly black Pershing feeder pattern. [35 Tr. 3868-71].

69,000 students. [33 Tr. 3507-08; P.X. 101 at p. 233]. The new school construction during this period was located largely in accordance with general site designations set forth in the Detroit Master Plan of 1946, which was developed by the City Plan Commission in conjunction with school authorities. [33 Tr. 3509-10, 3513-14].

32. In 1958 Board-appointed Citizens Advisory Committee on School Needs pointed up inadequacies in school plant facilities. [P.X. 101]. In 1959 the Board designated a \$90 million dollar building program; \$30 million came out of the millage package and the remaining \$60 million from the first bond issue the Board had ever placed before the public. [Drachler deposition de bene essee (June 28, 1971) at p. 25].

The 1959 building program was specified in a "priority list" of projects; this list was transmitted by the school authorities to the City Plan Commission which resulted in joint conferences between these two agencies and other city agencies, such as the Department of Parks and Recreation, for the purpose of determining site locations. [33 Tr. 3515 (Hendrickson)] Many of the proposed attendance areas were designated in 1959 and specific site locations were thus determined within the confines of the established attendance areas; by 1962 all attendance areas and site expansions were designated for the school construction proposals on the 1959 priority list and published in *The Price of Excellence* (P.X. 72A). [35 Tr. 3891-92 (Hendrickson)] Many of these attendance areas were drawn in such a manner that the Board knew or should have known that the schools, when constructed, would open as segregated schools [15 Tr. 1682-98]. For example:

(a) The 1959 building program included a replacement for Eastern High School, which was constructed prior to the turn of the century. *The Price of Excellence* [P.X. 72A-map following p. 105] reveals that the attendance area would remain the same (except that portion north of Mack to be including in Kettering) for the new high school which was designated to be built some 1-2 miles southwest of the old school. [See also D.X. Y]. The 1960 census map (P.X. 136B) reflects that the proposed attendance area encompassed a residential section of the City which was overwhelmingly black, although there were substantial areas of white population immediately to the east and west of the proposed attendance areas. The 1960-61 racial count (P.X. 100A) reflects that old Eastern High enrolled 2290 black and only 151 white students that school year. The new Eastern was constructed around the middle of the decade and it was renamed King High School in 1968. Since the 1960-61 school year the school (old and new) has never enrolled over 50 white students (P.X. 100A-J), and this past 1970-71 school year the school enrolled only 3 white pupils out of a total enrollment of 1,878. [P.X. 100J]. The inescapable conclusion is that the Board knew, or failed to know only through wilful ignorance, that they were building a segregated black high school." [See generally 35 Tr. 3891-951.

(b) Kettering was another high school proposed in the 1959 building program. *The Price of Excellence* (P.X. 72A-map following p. 134) and Defendants' Exhibit Y show that the designated attendance area included the northern half of the Northeastern High zone and the northern portion of the Eastern High zone. The 1960 census map (P.X. 136B) reveals that the portion of Northeastern to be included in the Kettering zone was about evenly divided between black and white residences, and that the portion of Eastern to be included in the Kettering zone was overwhelmingly black in population. The proposed zone did not encompass, as it easily could have, the Southern portion of the white Osborn High School area. [See P.X. 136B (census map) and 109A (overlay)]. The 1960-61 racial count (P.X. 100A) reflects that Northeastern enrolled 437 white and 1648 black students that school year, while Eastern had only a handful of white students, as previously noted. Even if all of the Northeastern white students lived in that portion of the zone to be included in the Kettering zone, it is clear that there was little likelihood that Kettering would have a sub-

¹⁴ The Board's only response to this compelling set of circumstances is that there were charges from the black community in 1960 that the Board was building a new high school for the whites in Lafayette Park and Elmwood (the only white residential areas in the Eastern zone). These charges, however, stemmed from the previous experience of the black community with the segregation of Miller High School (35 Tr. 3882-87, 3893), and do not negate the obvious and predictable results of the Board's actions.

stantial number of white students when it opened. Although the 1960 and 1970 census maps (P.X. 136B and 136C) show that about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the proposed Kettering area encompasses white population areas, the Board knew that a large portion of the pupil population in this area attended then and now parochial schools. [35 Tr. 3900-01]. Furthermore, the Kettering site, designated in 1960 (35 Tr. 3895) was located in the black population portion of the zone to the south of the white residential areas, rather than the center of the zone. [P.X. 72A (map following p. 134) and P.X. 136B (1960 census map)]. Not surprisingly, Kettering opened in 1965 with an enrollment of 808 black and only 295 white students. [P.X. 100E]. In 1970-71 Kettering enrolled 3,372 black and only 88 white students. [P.X. 100J]. The Board knew or should have known that the natural, probable and actual effect of its actions would be the creation of a segregated black high school. [See generally 35 Tr. 3895-3901]

(c) Finney High School was also constructed pursuant to the 1959 building program. Its boundary was designated to encompass an all white population area which was the northern half of the Southeastern area [D.X. Y (overlay) P.X. 109A (overlay)]. The attendance zone, as designated, excluded the black residential areas of the Southeastern zone. [P.X. 136B]. Finney High opened in 1962 with an enrollment of 1048 white and only 4 black pupils, while Southeastern had an enrollment that school year of 1436 black and 220 white students. [P.X. 100B]. Although the original site selection was the Clark Elementary site, the location was subsequently changed to place the high school at the existing Finney Junior High site, even farther from the black population areas in the Southeastern zone. [35 Tr. 3881-82; P.X. 72A (map following p. 112); P.X. 136B (census map); P.X. 109A and D.X. Y]. Although a boundary change in 1967 added black students to Finney High, the school remains disproportionately white with an enrollment of 1,669 white students and only 973 black students in a system which is 63.8% black. [P.X. 100J, 152A].

(d) Comparison of the census maps and Defendants' Exhibit AA (junior high school construction and attendance area overlay) reveals a similar systematic segregatory pattern of construction at the junior high level under the 1959 building program. 17 junior highs were constructed under the 1959 program; the following table, taken from Defendants' Exhibit NN, demonstrates the Board's knowledge of the natural, probable and actual segregatory effects of this construction:

Junior high school (1959 building program)	Date opened	Percent black		1970-71
		When authorized ¹	When opened	
1. Brooks.....	1962	0	0	1.5
2. Butzel.....	1964	88.0	91.8	93.1
3. Condon.....	1963	90.0	92.7	91.8
4. Earhart.....	1965	10.0	13.6	8.6
5. Farwell.....	1964	30.0	21.8	67.8
6. Joy.....	1964	75.0	92.1	98.8
7. Knudsen.....	1963	98.0	98.7	98.9
8. Lessenger.....	1963	0	0	8.3
9. McMillan.....	1962	50.0	53.2	48.1
10. Murphey.....	1963	0	.7	9.8
11. Pelham.....	1963	50.0	69.1	99.5
12. Ruddiman.....	1962	.5	2.1	19.4
13. Spain.....	1962	100.0	100.0	100.0
14. Taft.....	1962	0	0	.7
15. Webber.....	1963	99.0	99.4	99.7
16. Wilson.....	1963	2.0	1.7	2.1
17. Winship.....	1963	0	0	70.3

¹ The column showing percent black when authorized was estimated by Mr. Henrickson from existing schools in the area at the time authorized [30 Tr. 3212].

Of these 17 junior high schools, only 3 (Farwell, McMillan and Pelham) had designated attendance areas (see D.X. AA) which were estimated by the Board to be substantially integrated when authorized in 1959, and 2 of these (Farwell and McMillan) have remained integrated. Of the remaining 14 junior high schools authorized in 1959, 8 had designated attendance areas estimated by the Board to be white when authorized and 6 had designated

attendance areas estimated by the Board to be black. Each of these 14 schools, as anticipated, opened as black or white junior highs, and each has retained its racial identity to this date. The Board's defense that they were surprised and overtaken by population shifts in the interim period between authorization date and completion date is not borne out by the facts, nor is it supported by the Board's own exhibits, which not only demonstrate a segregatory construction program but also demonstrate scienter on the part of the Board. The evidence reflects long delays between the initial designation of projects and actual steps toward construction. In such instances the board was free to change its plans for many reasons including the demonstrable reason that if built in particular locations it would be a segregated school.

(e) Defendants' Exhibit Z and the exhibits used in the foregoing examples, together with the same methods of comparison therein utilized, reveal the same results with regard to elementary school construction under the 1959 Building program: The Board, with knowledge of the natural, probable and actual effects of its actions, constructed and maintained segregated black and white elementary schools.

33. In addition to the 84 projects undertaken pursuant to the 1959 Construction Program (*see* P.X. 75), the Board has, during the last decade, undertaken additional construction with its normal millage authority (recently increased to 5% to equalize Detroit's capital outlay authority with that of the rest of the state). [*See* P.X. 77]. Defendants' Exhibit NN reflects that the Board has completed construction of and additions to 91 schools since 1959. According to defendants' own exhibit (N), 48 of these schools were to serve areas which were over 80% black in pupil population when the construction was authorized, all of which opened over 80% black and remain so; 14 schools were in areas over 80% white (by the Board's own estimates) when authorized, opened over 80% white and have remained so. Plaintiffs Exhibit 79 shows the construction of 63 new schools since 1960. This new school construction is depicted on overlays (P.X. 153, 153A and 153B); when the overlays are compared to the 1960 and 1970 census maps (P.X. 136B and 136C) and the percentage black when each school opened (P.X. 79), it appears beyond peradventure that the Board, with few exceptions, has knowingly embarked upon and continued a course of new school construction which had the natural, probable and actual effect of creating, perpetuating and maintaining racially segregated schools in Detroit. [15 Tr. 1682-98 (Foster); 33 Tr. 3519-21].

34. In 1966 the defendant State Board of Education and the Michigan Civil Rights Commission issued a Joint Policy Statement on Equality of Educational Opportunity (P.X. 174), requiring that

Local school boards must consider the factor of racial balance along with other educational considerations in making decisions about selection of new school sites, expansion of present facilities. . . . Each of these situations presents an opportunity for integration.

Defendant State Board's "School Plant Planning Handbook" (P.X. 70 at p. 15) requires that

Care in site location must be taken if a serious transportation problem exists or if housing patterns in an area would result in a school largely segregated on racial, ethnic, or socio-economic lines.

Yet, defendant Board has paid little, if any, heed to the obvious truth of these statements and guidelines, as the foregoing findings regarding school construction and site location clearly demonstrate. The State defendants have similarly failed to take any action to effectuate these policies. [33 Tr. 3522]. Defendants' exhibit NN reflects construction (new or additional) at 14 schools which opened for use in 1970-71; of these 14 schools, 11 opened over 90% black and 1 opened less than 10% black. School construction costing \$9,222,000 is opening at Northwestern High School which is 99.9% black, and new construction opens at Brooks Junior High, which is 1.5% black, at a cost of \$2,500,000.¹⁵ [P.X. 151].

35. Since 1959 the Board, with the obvious knowledge that small schools "defeat the intended objective of large service areas with heterogeneous social and racial composition" [P.X. 138 at p. 5; 35 Tr. 3909-10], has constructed at least 13 small primary schools with capacities of from 300 to 400 pupils. [35 Tr.

¹⁵ The construction at Brooks Junior High plays a dual segregatory role: not only is the construction segregated. It will result in a feeder pattern change which will remove the last majority white school from the already almost all-black Mackenzie High School attendance area. [32 Tr. 3417; *see* Finding number 27, *supra*].

3907-08]. This practice negates opportunities to integrate "contains" the black population and perpetuates and compounds school segregation.

36. Furthermore, the Board, through school construction, has advantaged itself and built upon the racial segregation in public housing projects (which segregation resulted from the discriminatory policies and practices of federal and state housing agencies, *see* Findings 43-44, *infra*), by constructing new schools and additions within or near such segregated projects. [P.X. 147, 148, 149; 23 Tr. 2571-76]. The Board knew or must have known that such construction created or perpetuated school segregation. (*See, e.g.*, school official's reference to using "colored church" to relieve school overcrowding caused by black housing projects, P.X. 147 at p. 17, 23 Tr. 2574). [*See* Finding 46 *infra*].

D. MAGNET PLAN

37. The integration results predicted for the magnet high school plan have failed to materialize; the plan has resulted in but a few black students electing to attend predominantly white high schools and almost no white students choosing predominantly black high schools. [31 Tr. 3323-46 (Della Dora); 35 Tr. 3912-14 (Hendrickson)]. The magnet plan retains too many of the defects inherent in "open enrollment" and "free choice" techniques (already proven ineffective in Detroit, *see* Finding 26, *supra*) to have any realistic prospects of achieving substantial desegregation of Detroit's high schools. [35 Tr. 3910-14 (Henrickson); 15 Tr. 1644-54 (Foster)].

E. ALTERNATIVES AVAILABLE

38. The District long has been aware of the racial segregation of pupils and faculty in the Detroit Public School System. Numerous complaints have been made to the Detroit Board of Education and its staff to remedy the situation. Among the examples are the reports of Citizens Association for Better Schools in 1960 [20 Tr. 2245-2246; P.X. 105 p. 478], the 1962 report of the Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity [P.X. 3], the *Sherrill* School Case [P.X. 6 and 6A], the studies by the Commission on Community Relations in 1963 on continuing discriminatory patterns and practices of the District [P.X. 177-178]; the joint statement of the State Board of Education and Michigan Civil Rights Commission in 1966 [P.X. 174], and the report of the High School Study Commission in 1968 [P.X. 107]. Board minutes are replete with repeated requests by many individuals and groups, including Plaintiff Detroit Branch of the N.A.A.C.P., for effective action to eliminate existing segregation. [D.X. RR].

39. Several such complaints suggested reasonable and feasible means of pupil and faculty assignment which would reduce the substantial racial imbalance; other proposals to remedy the school segregation were also made. Among the other examples are Defendant Drachler's acknowledgment in 1961 to the EEO committee that drawing attendance zones East-West instead of North-South would effect substantial integration [Drachler Statements, Deposition 6/28/71 pp. 156-157; P.X. 105, p. 405]; the various suggestions by District planner Hendrickson, in 1967 [P.X. 138], and the various desegregation proposals of a number of District staff groups in 1970 [P.X. 11-13]. Defendants, including the State Board of Education, admitted the educational benefit of integration for both black and white pupils and the denial of equal education opportunity inherent in existing school segregation [P.X. 174 (State Board); 19 Tr. 2049-2051 (State Board); P.X. 1 (Drachler Statement)]. As admitted by defendant Board member Stewart, the District has "a moral as well as a legal responsibility to undo the segregation it helped to create and maintain." 21 Tr. 2350-2353 [See also admissions of Deputy Superintendent Johnson, 41 Tr. 4334-4348].

40. The District had the power to and regularly did alter attendance zones, build new schools and additions, and alter student and faculty assignments. Yet, with some exceptions, most notably the April 7 plan of partial high school desegregation, the District has failed to act effectively to end the prevailing pattern of school segregation because of "imagined or real community pressures based on race alone." P.X. 3 p. 74 (1962 EEO Report) [See also P.X. 173 p. 11 (Former Board President Grace Deposition, 7/24/64)]. Those fears of the white community's active hostility to effective action to end the prevailing pattern of school segregation were born out by the quick response and rescission of the April 7 plan by the State and recall of Board members who favored that modest start. [41 Tr. 4675 (Drachler)].

F. SCHOOL AND RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

41. The City of Detroit is a community generally divided by racial lines. *Bradley v. Milliken*, C.A. No. 35257 (E.D. Mich. Dec. 3, 1970) (Slip Op. at 3). Residential segregation within the City of Detroit and throughout the metropolitan area is substantial, pervasive and long-standing. The credible evidence in this cause—exhibits and testimony of expert and fact witnesses—shows that black citizens have been contained in separate and distinct areas within the City and largely excluded from other areas within the City and throughout the suburbs; that pattern and practice persist. [P.X. 184, 2, 16A-D, 136A-C (census maps); 48 (map of racial covenants); 1 Tr. 144 et seq. (Marks); 3 Tr. 342 et seq. (Taeuber); 2 Tr. 200 et seq., 3 Tr. 398, et seq., 5 Tr. 522 et seq. (Bush); 6 Tr. 686 et seq. (Price); 7 Tr. 720 et seq. (Bauder); 7 Tr. 766 et seq. (Tucker); 5 Tr. 591 et seq., 5 Tr. 608 et seq., 5 Tr. 617 et seq., 6 Tr. 630 et seq., 6 Tr. 636 et seq., 6 Tr. 665 et seq. (Black Real Estate Brokers)] That evidence stands uncontradicted by the State or any other defendant.

42. Chance, the racially unrestricted choices of black persons, and economic factors are not now and have never been the major factors in this pattern of residential segregation; nor is it primarily an ethnic phenomenon. [1 Tr. 146-148, 150-153, 176-177 (Marks); 3 Tr. 349-350, 357-363, 371-377, 386-389, (Taeuber); 7 Tr. 775-779, 787 (Tucker); P.X. 183B, pp. 1-2]. Rather, the pervasive residential segregation throughout the metropolitan area is primarily the result of past and present patterns, practice, custom and usage of racial discrimination, both public and private, which now restricts and always has restricted the housing opportunities of black people. [1 Tr. 151-154, 167-168 (Marks); 3 Tr. 358, 363-364, 373, 386-387 (Taeuber); 7 Tr. 766-767 (Tucker); 7 Tr. 727-28 (Bauder), P.X. 122]. As evidenced by the uncontroverted (1) testimony of officials or former officials from the Detroit Commission on Community Relations (Marks and Bush), Detroit Housing Commission (Price), the Michigan Civil Rights Commission (Bauder), United States Commission on Civil Rights (Sloane), and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (Tucker) (all of which are responsible for monitoring and in some instances combatting housing discrimination) (2) probative findings of these agencies and the former commissioner of the Michigan Corporation and Securities Commission, (3) the testimony of local black brokers and (4) a variety of documentary evidence, the collective experience of black home seekers throughout the metropolitan area always has been and is still largely that of racial discrimination, restriction, exclusion, and sometimes insult or worse.¹⁰ The testimony of these witnesses is credible, informed and stands unrebutted and uncontradicted by the State or any other defendant. This proof was properly conceded by Counsel for the District to be a "tale of horror . . . degradation and dehumanization." 5 Tr. 607 [See also 6 Tr. 672, 680-681 (District); 4 Tr. 505 (Intervening Defendant Detroit Federation of Teachers)].

43. Governmental action and inaction at all levels—federal, state and local—is fully implicated in the subsidization, development and maintenance of racial restrictions on housing opportunities and is substantially responsible for the present residential restrictions and pattern of residential segregation throughout the metropolitan area. [Tr. 153-156, 177-178 (Marks); 2 Tr. 200, et seq. (Bush); 6 Tr. 694-698 (Price); 7 Tr. 766-796 (Tucker); 7 Tr. 722-750 (Bauder); 4 Tr. 445-473, 496-498 (Sloane); and P.X. 25 (Report of the Commission on Community Relation); P.X. 122 (Statement of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission); P.X. 37 (Report U.S. Commission on Civil Rights); P.X. 38 (Statement of the Secretary of HUD)]. As testified by Martin Sloane, Assistant Staff Director of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, one of the most formidable factors has been the history of the Federal government's aggressive promotion of discrimination and subsidization of new housing, especially in the suburbs, on a racially exclusive basis. The effects of these discriminatory policies, and the scope of the activity of F.H.A. and later V.A. [4 Tr. 445-456, 490-494, 496-498 (Sloane)], on the present location and racial occupancy of housing throughout the metropolitan area, particularly in subdivision development, affixed a pattern

¹⁰ In the words of one witness, this pattern of containment "is just as effective a barrier as if a wall were built in the community." [1 Tr. 163 (Marks)]. This witness then noted that on the edge of an historic black pocket in the 8 Mile-Wyoming area, a builder, who had title to property adjacent where these Negroes were living, "actually put up a cement wall, brick, mortar and brick wall, which for years was a symbol in [Detroit] of the way in which the Negro was an undesired neighbor." [(1 Tr. 163 (Marks); Tr. Hendrickson)].

of racial separation which was closely conjoined with new school construction within the City and the white bedroom communities of the suburbs.¹⁷ Present governmental inaction has failed to reverse this pattern of housing discrimination and segregation which it did so much to create and now perpetuates by failing to exercise its power. [P.X. 184 (census map); P.X. 37, 57 (Statements of U.S. Commission on Civil Rights); P.X. 38 (Statement of Secretary of HUD); P.X. 183A pp. 5-6 (Plaintiffs' Answers to Requests for Admissions); 4 Tr. 453-455, 496-498 (Sloane)].

44. The City of Detroit, with the assistance of federal agencies, built and maintains public housing on a racially segregated basis [1 Tr. 156 (Marks) 7 Tr. 781 (Tucker); 4 Tr. 457-459, 463-464 (Sloane); P.X. 18A (Public Housing Occupancy Statistics by Race, 1951-1971; 6 Tr. 697 (Price)]. Until declared unconstitutional by this federal district court in 1954, Detroit maintained segregation as an official policy: tenants were assigned on a racial basis and projects located so that existing racial characteristics of any area would be maintained. [1 Tr. 156 (Marks); 2 Tr. 221, 226, 247, 254-256, 263-265 (Bush); (Detroit Housing Commission Exhibits; P.X. 17; 18B p. 1; 19 Annual Report 1935, p. 10; Annual Report 1943 p. 9; Annual Report 1945, p. 29) 6 Tr. 697 (including urban renewal) (Price)]. Racially discriminatory tenant assignment practices continued through 1968 [6 Tr. 697-698 (Price); 7 Tr. 781-786 (Tucker); 2 Tr. 284, 291-292, 5 Tr. 589 (Bush); P.X. 18A p. 32; P.X. 21-25-35 (1959 Study of Tenant assignment)]. The policy of modified free choice then adopted has not been effective in desegregating projects originally designated for black occupancy. [P.X. 18B, pp. 15-18 (Tenant Assignment Policy 1/2/69); 7 Tr. 781-786 (Tucker)]. They remain virtually all black. [P.X. 18A p. 3; 2 Tr. 297]. The discriminatory practice of locating projects persists. There has been a continuing pattern of rejection of proposed public housing projects which are feared to be open to tenants of all races and located in white areas of the city. [1 Tr. 177-178 (Marks); 1 Tr. 266-274, 2 Tr. 293-307 (Bush); 6 Tr. 706-708 (Price)]. As a result since 1954, there has been very little construction of additional public housing [P.X. 18A; 6 Tr. 706 (Price)], all of which has been located in black or changing areas. [1 Tr. 178 (Marks); P.X. 23 (Map of public housing constructed and rejected); 7 Tr. 731-732 (Bauder); P.X. 123 (Statement of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission to the Detroit Common Council, 3/30/70)]. This continuing pattern of government action and refusal to act contributes substantially to the pervasive residential segregation. [1 Tr. 155-156, 177-178 (Marks); 4 Tr. 457 (Sloane); 7 Tr. 743-744 (Bauder); 7 Tr. 779-780 (Tucker)].

For a long period the affirmative policy of the major associations of white real estate agents to exclude blacks from white neighborhoods [P.X. 60 p. 5, 6 Tr. 643 (Real Estate Codes of Ethics)] was explicitly sanctioned by the State agency responsible for licensing and regulating real estate agents.¹⁸ [P.X. 59 pp. 22, 25; 5 Tr. 525] and openly promoted and subsidized by the F.H.A. and other federal agencies [P.X. 56, 56A, 56B (F.H.A. manuals); 4 Tr. 445-452 (Sloane); 6 Tr. 705 (Price); 7 Tr. 767, 770 (Tucker)]. By policy and practice various banks and lending agencies, chartered and regulated by state or federal agencies, financed residential choices to preserve and build racially homogeneous neighborhoods [6 Tr. 702-705 (Price); 4 Tr. 464-467 (Sloane)]. Racially restrictive covenants,

¹⁷ In building racially exclusive communities for the outmigration of whites, "white" schools were a necessary precondition to "stable" and "desirable", i.e. white, neighborhoods in the formerly stated view of the F.H.A.:

"Of prime consideration to the Valuator is the presence or lack of homogeneity regarding types of dwellings and classes of people living in the neighborhood. . . . Distances to the schools should be related to the public or private means of transportation available from the location to the school. The social class of the parents of children and the school will in many instances have a vital bearing. . . . Thus . . . if the children of people living in such an area are compelled to attend school where the majority or a good number of the pupils represent a far lower level of society or an incompatible racial element, the neighborhood under consideration will prove far less stable and desirable than if the condition did not exist. In such an instance it might well be that for payment of a fee, children of this area could attend another school with pupils of the same social class." [P.X. 56B, 1936 F.H.A. Manual §§ 252, 265, 266].

"Protection from adverse influences. . . . Important among adverse influences [is] infiltration of inharmonious racial or nationality groups. [P.X. 56, 1935 F.H.A. Manual §§ 310].

"Protection from Adverse Influences. . . . Recorded restrictive covenants should strengthen and supplement zoning ordinances and to be really effective should include . . . [p]rohibition of the occupancy of properties except by the race for which they are intended." [P.X. 56A, 1938 F.H.A. Manual, § 980 (3) (g)].

¹⁸ After hearings and investigations in 1961 Commissioner Gubow attempted to halt the pervasive discriminatory practices of its licensed real estate brokers which Commission policy had previously helped develop and maintain. That effort was frustrated by act of a superior state agency. (P.X. 183A-G).

long enforceable in State court, effectively excluded black from all but a few areas in the City and suburbs identified for open and black occupancy; these covenants helped establish a pattern and practice of racial containment and exclusion which persist.¹⁹ [P.X. 48, Tr. 235-238 (map of restrictive covenants); P.X. 48A and Tr. 186-196 (Affidavit and testimony of Chief Title Officer of Burton Abstract and Title Company, *Parmalee v. Morris*, 218 Mich. 625 (1925), *Northwest Civic Association v. Sheldon*, 317 Mich. 416 (1947), *Sipes v. McGee*, 316 Mich. 614 (1947, rev'd 334 U.S. 1 (1948)); 1 Tr. 153-154 (Marks); P.X. 2, 16A-D, 184 (census maps); 7 Tr. 778-779, 796 (Tucker)].

The pattern of racially discriminatory marketing practices in the organized real estate industry, although possibly less rigid and openly stated than in the past, persist and are still effective. [1 Tr. 154 (Marks); 3 Tr. 363 (Taeuber); 5-6 Tr. *passim* (Real Estate Brokers)]. By credible and uncontroverted evidence in this record, both past and present mechanisms of housing discrimination have been described and documented.²⁰ [1 Tr. 152-153 (Marks); 3 Tr. 363, 386, 391 (Taeuber); 7 Tr. 768-770 (Tucker); 5 Tr. 531-534, 536-568 (Bush); P.X. 24 (harassment); P.X. 27-29 (advertising); P.X. 25; 5-6 Tr. *passim*]. The understatement of one young black broker, who works on behalf of black clients who seek better housing which happens to be located in white residential areas, describes the current situation: "I do it only on bright days when I have good shoes because there is a great deal of hostility in the white areas." Tr. 671.²¹

46. The defendants had full knowledge of this situation. From 1943 until his employment by the District in 1959, the chief school planner, Mr. Hendrickson, was employed by the Detroit City Plan Commission and worked on the master plan which, with modifications, is still in effect and included generally existing and proposed school locations [39 Tr. 3507-3513 (Hendrickson)]. The District acts jointly with city planning officials, public housing authorities, and federal agencies in the acquisition and sale of land and location and construction of schools. [P.X. 147-148; 167, 19 Detroit Housing Commission Annual Report 1942 p. 37; 33 Tr. 3514-3518 (Hendrickson)].

The State Board of Education and Michigan Civil Rights Commission directed that school authorities in their school construction and student assignment practices avoid imposing segregation in the schools. [P.X. 174]. Yet, the District, with the sanction of the defendant State Board of Education and support of State bonding authority, built upon and advantaged itself of the pattern of residential segregation to create, maintain, magnify, and perpetuate pupil and faculty segregation in the public schools as set forth more fully in findings 1 to 36 *supra*. For examples, as the major area of black containment expanded West (after a decision by white realtors to open the area) in a pattern of neighborhood succession from Woodward to Livernois to Greenfield [P.X. 2, 184, 16B-D, 136A-C (census maps); 1 Tr. 147-148, 170 (Marks); 3 Tr. 364-370 (Taeuber); 5 Tr. 569 (Bush); Tr. — (Hendrickson)], school boundaries were either altered, [see finding § 21, 27 *supra*], made optional zones [see finding 23 *supra*], or maintained in a generally North-South direction [see finding 27 *supra*]. Such actions had the natural, probable and actual affect of maximizing school segregation and identifying schools as "black" or "white". [See Findings 20-30 *supra*]. For example, defendants built and maintained Higginbotham as an admittedly "black" school for residents of an historic black pocket in the 8 Mile-Wyoming area.²² [See Finding 27 *supra*]. The Higginbotham school boundaries were built upon the actual physical barriers erected by neighboring whites intent on keeping

¹⁹ Restrictive covenants continued to be included in the abstracts and title insurance policies of the largest title company in the Detroit metropolitan area because of its opinion that they had some continuing effect until *Jones v. Mayer*, 392 U.S. 409 (1968); upon a request by the Justice Department on November 26, 1969, made pursuant to Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, the title company began eliminating such restrictions from all policies and commitments. [P.X. 48A; 2 Tr. 196].

²⁰ The discriminatory mechanisms of the organized real estate market operate to restrict the choices of whites as well as blacks. Whites and blacks are sorted and separated, guided by the real estate industry on a racial basis to different residential areas in the metropolitan area. [1 Tr. 146-148, 151, 170 (Marks); 5 Tr. 548, 557-558, 582 (Bush)].

²¹ Another older black broker testified movingly about the long history of discrimination he and his clientele experienced, his own recent difficulties in purchasing a home for his family in the suburbs, and his decision to stop attempting to seek homes for black persons in white areas: "I've been licked, and I just don't like wasting my time and my effort. And I don't like taking people, like a Doctor I took out in Livonia . . . able to buy and pay cash for a piece of property. And walk to the door and the man is there. And when you start to go in, he comes out, closes the door and said "we're closed! . . . I told you we're closed!"

"And this kind of thing was not bad for me because I'm immune to it, but it was so embarrassing to [the Doctor]." 5 Tr. 604-605.

blacks out. [See Findings 27, 42 *supra*]. By various assignment, transfer and transportation practices, Higginbotham has been kept a "black" school. [See Findings 24, 27 *supra*]. As examples, many schools were built for public housing projects designated "black" or "white"; sometimes these schools were located on the site of the public housing project. [P.X. 147-148; 19, Detroit Housing Commission Annual Report 1942, pp. 32, 37; and see finding 36 *supra*]. By various student and teacher assignment, transportation and transfer practices, many of these schools were opened and thereafter maintained as "black" or "white" schools. The original "black" housing projects, and their schools, remain virtually all black, the result of past and present discriminatory practices. [P.X. 149].

Indeed, identifiably "white" schools often were constructed and maintained on lands with covenant restrictions against Negro use or occupancy; and in one instance at least in 1954, such racial covenant was continued pursuant to a special agreement between the seller of the land and purchaser Detroit Board of Education. [See generally, 20 Tr. 2164-2176; P.X. 172, 172W, 172A-Z]. This record shows many other examples of defendants' pattern and practice of taking advantage of and building upon residential segregation to create, maintain, intensify, and otherwise impose segregation in the public schools. A summary of the pattern and practices, as set forth more fully in findings 31-36 *supra*, is evidenced by defendants own exhibit NN: Since 1960 most new schools were authorized, open and remained 80% black or 80% white.²³ And these schools were built to contain pupils from residential areas with high black or white concentrations. [P.X. 153, 153A-B (location of new school construction); 136 B-C (census maps)].

As noted, with the exception of a few historic areas of black occupancy, Negroes are largely excluded from most areas and schools outside the City. For example, approximately 20,000 blacks work in Warren, but only a handful live there. [7 Tr. 751-752 (Bauder); 7 Tr. 775-780, 792-796 (Tucker); P.X. 38; P.X. 184]. When viewed in light of the other credible evidence on patterns and practices of discrimination throughout the metropolitan area, the record supports the finding that blacks are systematically excluded from living in Warren, contained primarily in the area open to black occupancy in the City.²⁴

The uncontradicted evidence also shows that blacks generally are not employed as faculty by the Warren public schools. [7 Tr. 752 (Bauder); P.X. 181 p. 672 (HEW school statistics)]. This example is just one of many in this record of how governmental instrumentalities within and without the City act to maintain "white" schools. [P.X. 185, 181, 182, 128B]. For example plaintiffs' exhibit 185 summarizes a number of "black" schools which are immediately contiguous to virtually all white suburban schools and districts. [See also P.X. 181 and 182]. When viewed in conjunction with a map [P.X. 184] of the metropolitan area by race, the sharp racial demarcation between the contiguous, substantially disproportionate, opposite race schools and districts is apparent.

48. By so creating and maintaining a pattern of schools identifiable as "black" or "white" schools, defendants directly accommodated and supported racial discrimination in housing. [P.X. 56, 56A-B (1938 F.H.A. Manual); 4 Tr. 449, 502 (Sloane); P.X. 183A, Plaintiff's answers to request for admissions, pp. 5-6; 8 Tr. 865-866, 919 (Green)]. Moreover, by maintaining school segregation over the history of the metropolitan area, defendants necessarily taught the experience of segregation to succeeding generations of pupils who thereafter acted out what they had learned in public and private capacities. [9 Tr. 960-997, 1025-26 (Green); 7 Tr. 766-767 (Tucker); Drachler Deposition 6/28/71 p. 109]. This too

²³ That pocket had been built up by temporary war housing [P.X. 19, Detroit Housing Commission Annual Report 1943, p. 71], designated for black occupancy, and extended beyond the City limits into Oakland County and the old, almost all-black Carver School District. [P.X. 184 (census map); Drachler depositions, 3/31/71 p. 13, 6/28/71 p. 48]. The small Carver school district lacked high school facilities. The District accommodated these students by busing them past "white" schools to "black" schools in the inner city. [8 Tr. 885 (Green); 11 Tr. 1259-60 (1959 Boundary Guide Book); Drachler depositions, 3/31/71 p. 13, 6/28/71 p. 48]. The Carver school district finally was split and merged into the Ferndale School District and Oak Park School District. [Drachler Deposition 3/31/71 p. 13; P.X. 184 (census map); P.X. 185 (Summary of Suburban Schools)]. In these districts in the elementary level in the 1968-69 school year, the students from this still black residential pocket [P.X. 184 (census map)] were assigned to two virtually all black schools. [P.X. 185 (Summary of Suburban Schools)].

²⁴ Between 1940 and 1958 most new classrooms were built in the outlying parts of the City to accommodate the growth in student population, white, in the Northwest and Northeast. [33 Tr. 2510; P.X. 101, p. 233].

²⁵ The Secretary of HUD appearing before the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity noted that the City of Warren "had an obvious practice of [housing] discrimination" [P.X. 38, p. 2786]. The evidence in this record supports that finding.

had an unmeasurable but substantial effect on the racial discrimination which is primarily responsible for segregation of residences and schools. [9 Tr. 960-967, 1025-1026 (Green); 7 Tr. 774 (Tucker); Drachler Deposition 6/28/71 pp. 108-109.] Thus, defendants' actions in relation to the creation and maintenance of state-imposed school segregation also operated substantially to create and perpetuate housing discrimination and residential segregation.

G. EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

49. When viewed in conjunction with all other evidence in this cause, plaintiffs' "hourglass" exhibit 166 [16 Tr. 1807] dramatically demonstrates what by now should be clear, that black and white children attend school largely with pupils of their own race and disproportionately with teachers of their own race. Put simply, most children in the District receive basically a racially separate educational experience. Both the white and black communities generally perceive the "white" schools as superior and "black" schools as inferior. [37 Tr. 4154 et seq. (Guthrie); 8-9 Tr. *passim* (Green)]. For example, Dr. Drachler noted that after the April 7 plan had been adopted, but before its rescission, a group of black parents supporting integration "were worried that their children [would] not be able to compete educationally with the youngsters in the new school. I had to show them that their children's scores were higher than some of the children in the school that they [were] about to enter. The self-image that they had of themselves is that if a school is totally black, then its students are not doing as well. I do not blame the parents. Segregation, attitudes of whites, instructional materials all contribute to this image." [41 Tr. 4677-4678. See also 8-9 Tr. *passim* (Green)]. Both white and black children understand that they are largely contained in racially separate schools and a stigma of inferiority attaches to "black" schools. [3 Tr. 4154-4156 (Guthrie); 8 Tr. 863-871, 885-886, 895, 920-921]. In fact, as measured by standard achievement test scores, predominantly "black" schools are not doing as well as "white" schools. [P.X. 134A, 134C; 8 Tr. 872 (Green)]. Although almost all schools in the city are below the nation-wide norm, predominantly black schools by the eighth grade are on the average two or more grade levels behind predominantly white schools. [P.X. 134A, 9 Tr. 1008-09 (Green)].

50. There is absolutely no indication that this disparity results from some inherent inferiority of black children as a group relative to white children. Rather, as a group and on the average black and white children arrive in school with the same potential and much the same levels of tested achievement. [8 Tr. 874-876m 933 (Green)]. (Of course different background produce a range of achievement levels in all students. [8 Tr. 879-880 (Green)].) only thereafter, with the experience of school segregation, does this tested achievement disparity appear and grow.²⁵ [8 Tr. 874-876 (Green); P.X. 134A]. Defendants suggest that this disparity results from either test bias or socio-economics status. Both, however, are conceded by Dr. Guthrie, the District's expert, to be surrogates for past or present racial discrimination insofar as blacks are concerned. [37 Tr. 4148-4154, 4160, 4173, 4174 (Guthrie); See also 8 Tr. 928, 935-936 (Green)]. Beyond mere standardized test scores, the final result is systematically inferior education for black children relative to white in the District, and perpetuation by the defendants of the ills of our society on a racial basis.²⁶ [8 Tr. 939-940, 950-952, 957-969 (Green)]. In the testimony with respect

* * * * *

average expenditure per pupil in "black" schools is between \$50 and \$40 less than in "white" schools [P.X. 163A-C, 164A-C, 163AA-CC, 164-AA-CC]; and the average salary of teachers assigned to black schools is between \$1800 and \$1400

²⁵ Presumably on the average "SES" of the child (and income of the parent, see 8 Tr. 926 et seq. (Green)) remain approximately the same during his progress from K through 8. Although there was dispute between the witnesses as to the initial differences all agreed the disparity increased as the number of years in a segregated school increased. And the experts do agree that schooling does and can make a difference. See, e.g. 8 Tr. 937 (Green).

²⁶ So-called part-time shared-learning experiences and multiracial textbooks and curriculum simply cannot overcome the adverse racial effects of segregated education. In the words of Dr. Green, "these kinds of experiences can be wiped out by newscasts of a black robbing an elderly white person Downtown Detroit. These kinds of experiences can be readily wiped out completely. . . . It can be wiped out by the fear of suburban parents who come into Detroit for a movie on Friday evening. However, ongoing sustained interpersonal relationships are not wiped out by a mugging of an elderly white woman by a black man." 9 Tr. 957-958.

less than the average salary of teachers assigned to white schools [P.X. 163A-C, 164A-C, 163AA-CC, 164AA-CC, D.X. NNN]. In its allocation of its resources, the finding is therefore compelled that the District is discriminating against Negro children in a pattern of "systematic differentiation paralleling racial lines." [41 Tr. 4665-4666 (Smith)].

53. The High School Study Commission found in 1968, despite denial by the District, that "rigid ability grouping across classes [or tracking] is a basic part of educational planning in Detroit at the high school level" and "that grouping is quite rigid." [P.X. 107A, pp. 5, 8.] The District witnesses agreed with plaintiffs that tracking within schools serves no educational purpose and often operates to segregate black children from white in separate classrooms within the same school. [37 Tr. 4151-4153 (Guthrie); Drachler Deposition 6/28/71 pp. 159-160; see also 8 Tr. 889-894, 896-897, 909 (Green)]. And the District's educational expert conceded that tracking between schools with different curricula or ability levels has the same effect, namely segregation of black and white pupils for no educational purpose. (37 Tr. 4153 (Guthrie); Drachler Depositions, 6/28/71 p. 81, 3/3/71 pp. 11-12.).

54. Similar disparity in the allocation of education resources occurs between District pupils and other pupils in the metropolitan area: fewer dollars per pupil, identification as black, the stigma of inferiority attaching are the lot of plaintiff children in the District. [37 Tr. 4136-4142, 4156-4157 (Guthrie); 31 Tr. 3309-3310 (Della-Dora)]. In short, black children in the District face a double dose of discrimination resulting from both economic and racial discrimination. [41 Tr. 4676 (Johnson)]. Irrespective of good or bad faith, a pattern of systematically discriminatory practices perpetuating segregation and inevitably identifying schools as "black" or "white" clearly persists in the District and throughout the metropolitan area. It is that pattern which perpetuates the twin cancers of racism and segregation in our society and denies plaintiff children an equal educational opportunity.

II. STATE INVOLVEMENT

55. The state and its agencies, in addition to their general responsibility for and supervision of public education, have acted directly to control and maintain the pattern of segregation in the Detroit schools. [See: 37 Tr. 4140, 4141]. The state refused, until this session of the legislature, to provide authorization or funds for the transportation of pupils within Detroit regardless of their poverty or distance from the school to which they were assigned, while providing in many neighboring, mostly white, suburban districts the full range of state supported transportation. [19 Tr. 2068-70]. This and other financial limitations, such as those on bonding and the working of the state aid formula whereby suburban districts were able to make far larger per pupil expenditure despite less tax effort, have created and perpetuated systematic educational inequalities. [41 Tr. 4676; 37 Tr. 4187, 4156 (Guthrie); 31 Tr. 3309-10 (Della Dora)]. The amount of State aid to local school districts in 1970-71 was three-fourths of a billion dollars. [19 Tr. 2043]. An additional \$29 million is spent by the state for pupil transportation [19 Tr. 2065]. The state-wide transportation cost, including local funds, in 1966-67 amounted to \$40,339,296.00. [19 Tr. 2070].

56. The State, exercising what Michigan courts have held to be its "plenary power" which includes power "to use a statutory scheme, to create, alter, reorganize or even dissolve a school district, despite any desire of the school district, its board, or the inhabitants thereof," acted to reorganize the school district of the City of Detroit. Act 244 and Act 48 created in the Detroit metropolitan area eight new school boards with certain powers and duties. Each of these new districts was as large or larger than any other school district in the state. The eight new districts remain subject to the central Board of Education having broad control over all school affairs. As early as July, 1969, during the period between Act 244 and Act 48, the president of the Detroit Board, pointing out the racial segregation of Detroit when compared with the suburbs and the financial disparity between Detroit and the surrounding districts, called upon the State to end this "confinement" of Detroit. [P.X. 189 at p. 4].

57. The state acted through Act 48 to impede, delay and minimize racial integration in Detroit schools. The first sentence of Sec. 12 of the act was directly related to the April 7, 1970 desegregation plan. The remainder of the section sought to prescribe for each school in the eight districts criterion of "free choice" (open enrollment) and "neighborhood schools" ("nearest school priority ac-

ceptance"), which had as their purpose and effect the maintenance of segregation.²⁰ The state legislature acted with great dispatch in blocking the April 7 integration plan. Within two days the first changes in Act 244 cleared the state House of Representatives. [41 Tr. 4675 (Drachler)]. The ultimate statute contained one of the features contained in the first version to pass the House. [§ 2(a) of Act 48]. It changed the 7 racially integrated regions drawn by the pre-call Detroit Board and set up a formula of 8 regions, with criteria, which in the context of the passage of the Act and in particular the more obvious provisions of Sec. 12, were designed in the words of Superintendent Drachler to provide "decreasing opportunities for integration." [41 Tr. 4675].

Testimony throughout the record, in particular that of Mr. Aubrey McCutcheon, indicate some of the impediments which either have arisen or which may make integration more difficult. [36 Tr. 3993-3999 (McCutcheon); 32 Tr. 3417 (Henrickson); see Finding 27, *supra*].

58. If integration on any substantial bases were to occur, the new districts or regions as drawn by the State would result in the abandonment of any effective "community control" or the supposed benefits of "decentralization." These two concepts, as described by Dr. Green and Dr. Della-Dora, do not call for particular geographic areas, but rather speak to a "community of people," parents, students, teachers and staff assigned to a particular school or set of schools. [31 Tr. 3308 et seq. (Della-Dora); 8 Tr. 912-13 (Green)]. However, the Court finds that the State's imposed boundaries for these districts impedes efforts to desegregate. [See : 31 Tr. 3368, 3369]. The eight regions as drawn were designed as a limitation upon the assignment of students to schools outside of "their regions." [See 9/1/70 Tr. 322-23]. The regions establish dual school districts in the Detroit area. [Compare P.X. 143Z (April 7 regions) with 144 present regions]. The Court further finds that integrated regions similar to those established by the pre-recall Board or as shown in the 1969 proposal of the then Board president, including schools in the greater Detroit community (P.X. 189), would enable both the concept of integration and of community control, as defined by these witnesses, to occur. The Court takes judicial notice however of the practical problem of harmonizing any theory of "community control" with larger population and the facts of urban life. See: *Mogk v. City of Detroit*, No. 35020 (three-judge court) (E.D. Mich. July 22, 1971) (slip op. p. 6).

I. "STATE-IMPOSED SEGREGATION"

59. Under the circumstances set forth in the foregoing findings, the present school segregation did not just happen, and is not adventitious—it is "state-imposed."

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT, EASTERN DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN, SOUTHERN DIVISION

CIVIL ACTION No. 35257

RONALD BRADLEY, ET AL., PLAINTIFFS

vs.

WILLIAM G. MILLIKEN, ET AL., DEFENDANTS

DETROIT FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, LOCAL #231, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF
TEACHERS, AFL-CIO, DEFENDANT-INTERVENOR

and

DENISE MAGDOWSKI, ET AL., DEFENDANTS-INTERVENOR

CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

1. This Court has jurisdiction of the parties and the subject matter of this action under the Civil Rights Act, 28 U.S.C. § 1343(3). *Bradley v. Milliken*, 433 F.2d (6th Cir. 1970)

²⁰ Section 12 of Act 48 which was before the Court of Appeals was held by that Court to be "unconstitutional and of no effect as violative of the 14th Amendment." *Bradley v. Milliken*, 433 F.2d 897 (6th Cir. 1970).

2. In evaluating the evidence and applying the legal standards to the facts it is not necessary that the Court determine whether or not the defendants' determination to pursue the policies and practices set forth in this record was on the basis of some evil intent or malice. Both are irrelevant. An act may be said to be intentional or deliberate if it was taken with reasonable foreseeable knowledge of the results. See: *Keyes v. School District #1, Denver*, 383 F. Supp. 279 (D. Col. 1969); *Spanger v. Pasadena City Bd. of Ed.*, 311 F. Supp. 501, (C.D. California 1970), *Davis v. School Dist. of the City of Pontiac*, 309 F. Supp. 734 (E.D. Mich.), affirmed — F.2d — (6th Cir. 1971).

3. Motive, ill will and bad faith have long been rejected as a requirement to invoke protection of the 14th Amendment against alleged racial discrimination. *U.S., ex rel Seals v. Wiman*, 304 F. 2d 53, 65 (5th Cir. 1962). Protestations of good faith and lack of intention to discriminate are insufficient to justify racially discriminatory results. *Sims v. Ga.*, 389 U.S. 404, 407-408 (1967). In *Norris v. Alabama*, 294 U.S. 587, 598 (1935), the Court said "If . . . the mere general assertions by officials of their performance of duty were to be accepted as an adequate justification . . . the constitutional provision—adopted with special reference to [black citizens'] protection would be but a vain and illusory requirement."

4. When the power to act is available, failure to take the necessary steps so as to negate or alleviate a situation which is harmful is as wrong as is the taking of affirmative steps to advance the situation. Sins of omission can be as serious as sins of commission. *Davis v. School District of Pontiac, Inc.*, 309 F. Supp. 734, 741-742, affirmed — F.2d — (6th Cir. 1971).

5. In cases where racial discrimination is an issue, "statistics often tell much, and Courts listen." *Alabama v. United States*, 304 F. 2d 583, 586 (5th Cir.), affirmed, 371 U.S. 37 (1962). *Accord, Turner v. Fouche*, 396 U.S. 346, 360 (1970); *Hawkins v. Town of Shaw*, No. 29013 (5th Cir. Jan. 28, 1971) (rehearing *en banc* pending); *Griggs v. Duke Power*, 39 U.S.L.W. 4317 (March 8, 1971).

6. This Court has jurisdiction to hear and to decide all issues concerning alleged discrimination in the schools of the District, including policies involving the assignment of students, the allocation and hiring of faculty and administrators, and the location and construction of schools. *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, 39 U.S.L.W. 4437 (U.S. April 20, 1971); *United States v. School District 151*, 286 F.Supp. 786 (N.D. Ill.), *aff'd*, 404 F.2d 1125 (7th Cir. 1968); *United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education*, 372 F.2d 836, *aff'd en banc*, 380 F.2d 385 (5th Cir. 1967), *cert. denied, sub nom. Caddo Parish School Board v. United States*, 389 U.S. 840 (1967); *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, 267 F.Supp. 458 (M.D. Ala.), *aff'd sub nom. Wallace v. United States*, 389 U.S. 215 (1967).

7. School districts are accountable for the natural and probable consequences of their pupil and teacher assignment policies, and where racially identifiable schools are the effect of such policies the school authorities bear the burden of showing that such policies are based upon educationally compelled, non-racial considerations. *Keyes v. School District No. 1*, 303 F. Supp. at 292-293; *Davis v. School District of the City of Pontiac*, — F.2d — (6th Cir. 1971).

8. In *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483, 74 S.Ct. 686, 98 L.Ed. 783 (1954), the Supreme Court was dealing, simply, with racial segregation. The Court made no distinction as to Northern segregation or Southern segregation. The Supreme Court held, simply, that segregated education is inherently unequal that it deprived Negro children of the educational opportunity to fulfill all their dreams in this country. It further held that all children are deprived, in a constitutional sense, by segregation. *Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education*, 311 F.Supp. 501 (1970).

9. A violation of the Fourteenth Amendment has occurred when public school officials have made a series of educational policy decisions which were based wholly or in part on considerations of the race of students or teachers and which have contributed to increasing racial segregation in the public school system. *Davis v. School District of the City of Pontiac*, — F.2d — (6th Cir. 1971); *Poindester v. Louisiana Financial Assistance Commission*, 275 F.Supp. 833, 837 (E.D.La., 1967), affirmed, 389 U.S. 571, 88 S.Ct. 693, 19 L.Ed.2d 780 (1968); *Hall v. St. Helena Parish School Board*, 197 F.Supp. 649, 652 (E.D. La., 1961), affirmed, 368 U.S. 515, 82 S.Ct. 529, 7 L.Ed.2d 521 (1962); *United States v. School District 151*, 404 F.2d at 1134; *Taylor v. Board of Education*, 191 F.Supp. 181 (S.D.N.Y., 1961), affirmed 294 F.2d 36 (2nd Cir. 1961), *cert. denied*, 368 U.S. 940, 82 S.Ct. 382, & L.Ed.2d 339 (1961); *Griffin v. County School Board*, 377 U.S.

218, 231, 84 S.Ct. 1226, 12 L.Ed.2d 256 (1964); *Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education*, 311 F.Supp. 501 (1970).

10. The defendants, their predecessors and successors in office are responsible for the actions and chargeable with the knowledge of their agents and employees. Regardless of the policies adopted by any Board or Superintendent, the test is as a matter of law, what was actually done or failed to be done in the operation of the public schools. Similarly the test is the "effect" of policies, practices, customs and usages. [Tr. p. 49-50, 68 (Stephens)] See generally, M. Law & Practice, Vol. 1 Agency § 1 and 111; MLP Vol. 10 § 131; Compare: *Poindexter v. La. Financial Assistance Comm.*, 296 F.Supp. 686 E.D. La. aff'd per curiam sub nom. *La. Ed. Commission for Needy Children v. Poindexter*, 393 U.S. 17 (1968); *same*, 275 F.Supp. 833 (E.D.La., 1967), 389 U.S. 571 (1968).

11. The equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment forbids States from drawing distinctions on account of race. *Brown v. Board of Educ.*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954); *Watson v. City of Memphis*, 373 U.S. 526 (1963). The Constitution forbids indirect, as well as direct, discrimination on a racial basis, (*Cooper v. Aaron*, *Smith v. Texas*, 311 U.S. 128 (1940)). The Constitution equally "nullifies sophisticated as well as simple minded modes of discrimination." *Lane v. Wilson*, 307 U.S. 268, 275; *Smith v. Texas*, supra, at 132 (1940).

12. In determining whether a constitutional violation has occurred, proof that a pattern of racially segregated schools has existed for a considerable period of time amounts to a showing of racial classification by the State and its agencies, local school authorities, which must be justified by clear and convincing evidence. *Alabama v. United States*, 304 F.2d 583, 586 (5th Cir.), aff'd 371 U.S. 37 (1962); *United States v. Board of Educ. of Bessemer*, 396 F.2d 44, 46 (5th Cir. 1968); *Hall v. St. Helena Parish School Bd.*, 417 F.2d 801, 809 (5th Cir.), cert. denied, 396 U.S. 904 (1969); *Turner v. Fouche*, 396 U.S. 346, 360 (1970); *Hawkins v. Town of Shaw*, 437 F.2d 1286 (5th Cir. 1970); *Kennedy Park Homes, Inc. v. Town of Lackawanna*, 436 F.2d 118 (2nd Cir.), Cert. Denied, 401 U.S. 1010 (1971); *Chambers v. Hendersonville City Bd. of Educ.*, 374 F.2d 189, 192 (4th Cir. 1966); *Rolfe v. County Bd. of Educ. of Lincoln County*, 391 F.2d 77, 80 (6th Cir. 1968); *United States v. School District 151*, 301 F.Supp. 201.

12. The Board's practice, which transcended individual instances, of shaping school attendance zones on a north-south rather than east-west orientation, with the result that zone boundaries conformed to racial residential dividing lines and segregation was entrenched, violated the Fourteenth Amendment. *Brewer v. School Bd. of Norfolk*, 397 F.2d 37 (4th Cir. 1968); *Henry v. Clarksdale Municipal Separate School Dist.*, 409 F.2d 682 (5th Cir.), cert. denied, 396 U.S. 940 (1969); *Northerross v. Board of Educ. of Memphis*, 333 F.2d 663-64 (6th Cir. 1964); *Clark v. Board of Educ. of Little Rock*, 426 F.2d 1035 (8th Cir. 1970), cert denied — U.S. — (1971)

13. Pupil racial segregation in the Detroit public school system and residential racial segregation resulting primarily from public and private racial discrimination are interdependent phenomena. The affirmative obligation of the defendant Detroit Board has been and is to adopt and implement pupil assignment policies and practices that, to the maximum extent possible, compensate for and avoid incorporating into the school system the effects of residential racial discrimination. The Board's purposeful and deliberate building upon housing segregation violates the Fourteenth Amendment. See *Davis v. School District of the City of Pontiac*, supra; *Brewer v. Norfolk School Board*, 397 F.2d 37, 41 (4th Cir. 1968); *Henry v. Clarksdale Municipal Separate School District*, 409 F.2d 682, 687, 689 (5th Cir. 1969); *Spangler and United States v. Pasadena City Board of Education*, above, 311 F.Supp. at 512; *Sloan v. Tenth School Dist. of Wilcox County*, 433 F.2d 587 (6th Cir. 1970).

14. The defendant Detroit Board's policy of selective optional attendance zones, to the extent that it facilitated the separation of pupils on the basis of race, was without educational justification and in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. *Hobson v. Hansen*, 269 F.Supp. 401, 499-501 (D.D.C., 1967), affirmed, *Smuck v. Hobson*, 408 F.2d 175 (D.C. Cir. 1969); *Taylor v. New Rochelle Board of Education*, 294 F.2d 36, 38 (2d Cir. 1961), cert. denied, 368 U.S. 940 (1961); *Spangler and United States v. Pasadena City Board of Education*, 311 F.Supp. at 507-508, 512; *Kelley v. Altheimer, Arkansas Public School District No. 22*, 297 F.Supp. 753, 758 (E.D. Ark., 1969); *Montgomery v. Oakley Training School*, 426 F.2d 269, 271 (5th Cir. 1970).

15. By requiring that students from majority black residential areas be transported to majority white schools to relieve overcrowding, while not transporting

children from majority white residential areas to majority black schools (which have space available) to relieve overcrowding, defendants have placed an unfair burden and stigma on black children and, thus, have violated the Fourteenth Amendment. See: *Brice v. Landis*, 314 F.Supp. 974 (N.D. Calif. 1969); *Lee v. Macon County Board of Educ.*, No. 30154 (5th Cir. June 29, 1971); *Gordon v. Jefferson Davis Parish School Board*, No. 30075 (5th Cir. June 28, 1971); *Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Educ.*, 311 F.Supp. 501, 524 (C.D. Calif. 1970).

16. The Detroit Board's manipulation and gerrymandering of attendance zone boundary lines to foster segregation by expanding the zones of identifiably black schools to contain increasing black populations or by removing areas of one racial composition from a zone for a school identifiable as serving students of a different race. *Taylor v. Board of Educ. of New Rochelle*, 294 F.2d 36 (2d Cir.), *Cert. denied*, 368 U.S. 940 (1961); *United States v. School Dist. 151*, 404 F.2d 1125 (7th Cir. 1968); *Spangler v. Pasadena City Bd. of Educ.*, 311 F.Supp. 501, 507-10, 522 (C.D. Calif. 1970); *Davis v. School Dist. of Pontiac*, 309 F.Supp. 734, 744 (E.D. Mich. 1970); *aff'd* — F.2d — (6th Cir. 1970); *Northcross v. Board of Ed. of the City of Memphis*, 333 F.2d 661, 663-664 (6th Cir. 1964).

17. The practice of the Board, contrary to its avowed policy, of transporting black students from overcrowded black schools to other identifiably black schools while passing closer identifiably white schools which could have accepted these children and thus achieved greater desegregation has been held to be deliberate segregation by school authorities. *Spangler v. Pasadena City Bd. of Educ.*, 311 F.Supp. 501, 507-08, 512 (C.D. Calif. 1970); *Kelley v. Althimer*, 297 F.Supp. 753, 758 (E.D. Ark. 1969); *Montgomery v. Oakley Training School*, 426 F.2d 269, 671 (5th Cir. 1970). The assignment of black students who were bussed into white schools as an intact group to classes rather than mixing them with the other members of the student body has been held unconstitutional as early as *McLaurin v. Oklahoma Bd. of Regents*, 339 U.S. 637 (1950); *cf. McNeece v. Board of Educ.*, 199 F.Supp. 403 (N.D. Ill. 1960), *aff'd* 305 F.2d 783 (7th Cir. 1962), *rev'd* 373 U.S. 668 (1963). In-school segregation is equally violative of constitutional rights as segregation by school building. *Johnson v. Jackson Parish School Bd.*, 423 F.2d 1055 (5th Cir. 1970); *Jackson v. Marvell School Dist. No. 22*, 425 F.2d 211 (8th Cir. 1970).

18. The manner in which the District formulated and modified attendance zones for elementary schools had the natural inevitable and predictable effect of perpetuating and exacerbating existing racial segregation of students. Such conduct constitutes *de jure* discrimination in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. *United States v. School District 151*, 286 F.Supp. 786, 795-796, 798 (N.D. Ill.), *aff'd* 404 F.2d 1125 (7th Cir. 1968); *Brewer v. City of Norfolk*, 39__ F.2d 37, 40-42 (4th Cir. 1968); *United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education*, 372 F.2d 831, 867-868 (5th Cir. 1965), *aff'd en banc*, 380 F.2d 375 (1966), *cert. denied*, 389 U.S. 840 (1967); *Taylor v. Board of Education*, 294 F.2d 36 (2d Cir.), *cert. denied*, 368 U.S. 940 (1961); *Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education*, 311 F.Supp. 501, 522 (C.D. Cal. 1970); *Davis v. School District*, 309 F.Supp. 734, 744 (E.D. Mich. 1970), *aff'd* — F.2d — (6th Cir. 1971).

19. A school board may not, consistently with the Fourteenth Amendment, maintain segregated elementary schools or permit educational choices to be influenced by a policy of racial segregation in order to accommodate community sentiment or the wishes of a majority of voters. *Cooper v. Aaron*, 358 U.S. 1, 12-13, 15-16 (1958); *Lucas v. Forty-Fourth General Assembly*, 377 U.S. 713, 736-737 (1964); *Hall v. St. Helena Parish School Board*, 197 F.Supp. 649, 659 (E.D. La.), *aff'd* 368 U.S. 515 (1961); *Reitman v. Mulkey*, 387 U.S. 369 (1967); *Monroe v. Board of Commissioners*, 391 U.S. 450 (1968); *United States v. School District 151*, 286 F.Supp. 786, 798 (N.D. Ill.), *aff'd*, 404 F.2d 1125 (7th Cir. 1968); *Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education*, 311 F.Supp. 501, 523 (C.D. Cal. 1970).

20. Assignment of teachers on a racial basis so that teachers are assigned to schools attended by children of their race tends to establish racially identifiable schools. Such assignment deprives students of their right to be free of racial discrimination in the operation of public elementary schools and is *de jure* segregation in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. *Rogers v. Paul*, 832 U.S. 198 (1965); *Bradley v. School Board*, 382 U.S. 103 (1965); *Green v. County School Board*, 391 U.S. 430 (1968); *United States v. School District 151*, 286 F.Supp. 786, 797 (N.D. Ill.), *aff'd*, 404 F.2d 1125 (7th Cir. 1968), *Cert. denied*, 39 U.S.L.W. 3486 (1971); *Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education*, 311 F.Supp. 501, 523 (C.D. Cal. 1970); *Davis v. School District*, 309 F.Supp. 401, 501-503 (D. D.C. 1967), *appeal dismissed*, 393 U.S. 801 (1968).

21. The defendant Detroit Board's racially discriminatory practices with respect to the assignment of faculty and staff personnel, an aspect of school administration over which the defendants have direct and continuing control, creates an inference, which the defendants must dispel by credible evidence, that other school board policies and practices which resulted in the racial separation of pupils were racially discriminatory. *United States v. School District 151*, 301 F.Supp. 201, 229-230 (N.D. Ill. 1969), *affirmed as modified*, 432 F.2d 1147, 1151 (7th Cir. 1970), *cert. denied*, — U.S. —, 39 L.W. 3486 (1971); *Turner v. Fouche*, 396 U.S. 346, 360 (1970).

22. The responsibility for faculty and administration desegregation is defendants', not the teachers and administrators. The constitutional prohibition against segregation in public schools may not be made contingent upon the preferences of teachers or the administrative staff. If necessary to further desegregation, faculty and administrators must be assigned involuntarily to schools. *United States v. School District 151*, 286 F.Supp. 786 (N.D. Ill.), *aff'd*, 404 F.2d 1125 (7th Cir. 1968); *United States v. Board of Education*, 396 F.2d 44 (5th Cir. 1968); *David v. Board of School Commissioners*, 393 F.2d 690 (5th Cir. 1968); *Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education*, 311 F.Supp. 501, 523 (C.D. Cal. 1970).

23. Defendants are under a constitutional obligation to take affirmative remedial action to desegregate the faculties and administrative staffs of the public elementary schools forthwith. *United States v. Montgomery Board of Education*, 395 U.S. 225 (1969); *United States v. School District 151*, 286 E. Supp. 786, 797 (N.D. Ill.), *aff'd* 404 F.2d 1125 (7th Cir. 1968); *Clark v. Board of Education*, 369 F.2d 661, 669 (8th Cir. 1966); *United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education*, 372 F.2d 836, 893, *aff'd en banc*, 380 F.2d 385 (5th Cir. 1967), *cert. denied, sub nom. Caddo Parish School Board v. United States*, 389 U.S. 840 (1967); *Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education*, 311 F. Supp. 501, 523 (C.D. Cal. 1970); *Davis v. School District*, 309 F.Supp. 734, 744 (E.D. Mich. 1970).

24. When an unconstitutional pattern of teacher assignment has been found the standard for relief is assignment of staff "so that the ratio of Negro to white teachers in each school, and the ratio of other staff in each, are substantially the same as each such ratio is to the teachers and other staff respectively, in the entire school system. *Swann, supra.*; *Singleton v. Jackson Municipal separate School Dist.*, 419 F.2d 1211 (1970).

25. The location of schools "influences the pattern of residential development of the city and metropolitan area and have important impact on composition of inner city neighborhood." The classic pattern is often the building of schools specifically intended for Negro or white students. The building of new schools in areas of white suburban expansion farthest from Negro population centers, or in the central cities in areas of Negro containment, in order to maintain the separation of the races with a minimum departure from the formal principles of "neighborhood zoning" promotes segregated residential patterns which, when combined with "neighborhood zoning", further lock the school system into the mold of separation of the race. *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, 39 U.S.L.W. 4437, 4444, cited in *Davis v. School District of the City of Pontiac, Inc.*, #20477 — F.2d — Slip op. p. 10 (concurring opinion of Judge Cecil) (6th Cir. 1971); *Accord, Kelly v. Metropolitan County Board of Nashville, Tenn.*, 436 F.2d 856, (6th Cir. 1970); *Brewer v. School Board of City of Norfolk*, 397 F.2d 37, 42 (4th Cir. 1968); *Sloan v. Tenth School District of Wilson County*, 433 F.2d 587, 589 (6th Cir. 1970); *Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Educ.*, 311 F. Supp. 501, 522 (M.D. Calif. 1970).

26. By building new elementary schools and additions to old schools in a manner that creates, maintained and exacerbated existing segregation of elementary school pupils, the District caused *de jure* segregation in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. *Swann v. Charlotte Mecklenburg*, 39 U.S.L.W. 4437, 4443 (U.S. April 30, 1971); *United States v. Montgomery County Board of Education*, 395 U.S. 225, 231 (1969); *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, 267 F.Supp. 458, 472, 480 (M.D. Ala.), *aff'd* 389 U.S. 215 (1967); *United States v. Board of Public Instruction*, 395 F.2d 66, 69 (5th Cir. 1968); *United States v. School District 151*, 276 F. Supp. 786, 800 (N.D. Ill.), *aff'd* 404 F.2d 1125 (7th Cir. 1968); *Brewer v. City of Norfolk*, 397 F.2d 37 (4th Cir. 1968); *Spangler v. Pasadena City Board of Education*, 311 F.Supp. 501, 517-519 (C.D. Cal. 1970); *Davis v. School District*, 309 F.Supp. 734, 741 (E.D. Mich. 1970); *aff'd* — F.2d — (6th Cir. 1971).

27. The Board's school construction policies and practices have added to and reinforced the pattern of segregation referred to. Although there were vacant seats throughout the city to which students could have been assigned at lesser cost and with the achievement of integration, the Board continued to expand substantial sums for construction of new schools designed to service particular areas of racial concentration, and such schools opened as and have continued to be racially identifiable in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Bd. of Educ.*, 91 S. Ct. 1284, — (1971); *United States v. School Dist. 151*, 404 F.2d 1125, 1132-33 (7th Cir. 1968); *Davis v. School Dist. of Pontiac*, 309 F. Supp. 734, 741-42 (E.D. Mich. 1970), *aff'd* — F.2d. — (6th Cir. 1971); *Spangler v. Pasadena City Bd. of Educ.*, 311 F.Supp. 501, 517-18 (C.D. Cal. 1970); *Johnson v. San Francisco Unified School Dist.*, Civ. No. C-70-1331 (N.D. Cal., April 28, 1971); *cr. Sloan v. Tenth School Dist. of Wilson County*, 433 F.2d 587, (6th Cir. 1970); *United States v. Board of Educ. of Polk County*, 395 F.2d 66 (5th Cir. 1968); *Kealey v. Altheimer* 378 F.2d 483 (8th Cir. 1967); *Bradely v. School Bd.*, 324 F.Supp. 456, 461 (E.D. Va. 1971); *Clark v. Board of Educ. of Little Rock*, 401 U.S. 971 (1971).

28. The legal effects of racially discriminatory confinement to a school district are not different from the effects of such containment within a district. *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, — F.2d — (5th Cir. No. 30, 154, decided June 29, 1971).

29. The obligation of school districts found to be illegally segregated on the basis of race is to prepare, adopt, and implement such plans—giving affirmative consideration to racial factors—as will eradicate the effects of prior discrimination and “achieve the greatest possible degree of actual desegregation”. *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education*, above, 91 S. Ct. at 1281; *McDaniel v. Barresi*, — U.S. —, 91 S. Ct. 1287, 1289 (1971).

30. The related doctrines that race and Socio-Economic Status correlate highly and that better quality education is more readily provided in schools attended predominantly by higher SES pupils may be educationally supportable, but they may not be employed as a limitation upon a school district's obligation to eliminate—by pupil desegregation—the effects of its prior discriminatory practices, particularly where the effect of such a limitation would be to “protect” quality education at the schools attended predominantly by white students, while denying the equal protection of the laws by perpetuating lesser education at schools attended predominantly by black, lower SES children. *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education*, 91 S. Ct., at 1280, note 8, *Brunson v. Board of Trustees*, 429 F.2d 820, 824 et. seq. (4th Cir 1970); *Brewer v. School Board of City of Norfolk*, 397 F.2d 37 (4th Cir 1970).

31. The public and private racially discriminatory policies that have effected the extreme containment of black families within the Detroit school district deny equal educational opportunity to the children of such families, and the State, which is empowered to alter school district lines, is obligated to do so absent a showing of a compelling non-racial, educational justification for maintaining such lines. *Brown v. Board of Education*, 349 U.S. 294, 300-301 (1955).

32. The Court concludes that Sec. 2a of Act 48 and the action of the Governor's Commission pursuant to that Act in establishing the present regions, has the effect of making desegregation more difficult; and to the extent that any of its provisions make any plan of desegregation more difficult it may not as a matter of law be considered. *Bradely v. Milliken*, 433 F.2d 897, (6th Cir. 1970).

33. Under the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution and the laws of Michigan, the responsibility for providing public educational opportunity to all children on constitutional terms is ultimately that of the State. *Turner v. Warren County Board of Education*, 313 F.Supp. 380 (E.D.N.C., 1970); *Godwin v. Johnston County Board of Education*, 301 F.Supp. 1339 (E.D.N.C. 1969); *United States v. Texas Education Agency*, 431 F.2d 1313 (5th Cir. 1970); Article 8, §§ 1 and 2, Michigan Constitution; *Dasziewicz v. Board of Education of City of Detroit*, 3 N.W. 2d 71 (Mich. 1942); *Jones v. Grand Ledge Public Schools*, 84 N.W. 2d 327 (Mich. 1957); *Imlay Twp. Primary School District v. State Board of Education*, 102 N.W. 2d 720 (Mich. 1960).

34. The Michigan Constitution of 1963 gives the State broad authority and responsibility for public education. It provides: “The legislature shall maintain and support a system of free public elementary and secondary schools as defined by law.” Art. VIII, Sec. 2 School districts “are agencies of the State, deriving their powers from the State, not independent entities with inherent rights, privileges or immunities.” *School Dist. No. 7, et al. v. The Board of Education of*

the Intermediate School District of the County of Kent et al., No. 4585 (Kent Cir. Ct., Oct. 16, 1967) (slip op. at 4-5); *Attorney General ex rel Kies v. Lawrey*, 131 Mich. 639; *School District of the City of Lansing v. State Board of Education*, 367 Mich. 591; *Imlay Township Primary School District No. 1 v. Board of Education*, 359 Mich. 478; *Jones v. Grand Ledge Schools*, 349 Mich. 1.

35. "That a state's form of government may delegate the power of daily administration over public schools to officials with less than state-wide jurisdiction does not dispel the obligation of those who have broader control to use the authority they have consistently with the Constitution . . . In such instances the constitutional obligation toward the individual school children is a shared one." *Bradley v. School Board of the City of Richmond, Virginia*, 51 F.R.D. 139, 143 (1970).

36. In addition to the State Board and State Superintendent the next level of public education is the Intermediate school district. They are in most instances contiguous with county boundaries but in other instances they extend beyond these political boundaries. [19 Tr. 2045 Porter] M.S.A. 15.3291 et. seq. The superintendent and board in all respects are the legal successors to the powers, duties and responsibilities of the county superintendent and county board of education. The first duty of the superintendent is to "[P]ut into practice the educational policies of the state and of the board, . . . Perform such duties as the superintendent of public instruction or the board prescribes . . ." and generally supervise distribution and accounting of state aid to local districts. M.S.A. 15.3301(1). The Intermediate board provides for certain types of education on a county wide or multidistrict basis. (19 Tr. p. 2044). They also supervise, recommend and approve consolidations and annexations of local districts. (Vol. p.) P.X. 181A. State law provides for combinations and annexations of these Intermediate districts subject to the approval of the State Board of Education. M.S.A. 15.3302(1); 15.3303(1).

37. Leadership and general supervision over all public education is vested in the State Board of Education. Art. VIII Sec. 3, Mich. Constitution 1963. The duties of the State Board and Superintendent include but are not limited to, specifying the number of hours necessary to constitute a school day; approval until 1962 of school sites; approval of school construction plans (P.Exs. 10 & 174); accreditation of schools, approval of loans based on State aid funds; review of suspensions and expulsions of individual students for misconduct [Op. Atty. Gen. July 7, 1970, No. 4705]; authority over transportation routes and disbursement of transportation funds, teacher certification and the like 15:1023 (10) (Porter, Tr. Vol. 19 p. 2087-88).

State law provides review procedures from actions of local or intermediate districts (See M.S.A. 15.3442), with authority in the State Board to ratify, reject, amend or modify the actions of these inferior state agencies. See M.S.A. 15.3467; 15.1919 (61); 15.1919 (68b); 15.2299 (1); 15.1961; 15.3402; *Bridgehampton School District No. 2 Fractional of Carsonville Mich. v. Supt. of Public Instruction*, 323 Mich. 615. In general, the state superintendent is given the duty "To do all things necessary to promote the welfare of the public schools and public educational institutions and provide proper educational facilities for the youth of the state." M.S.A. 15.3252. See also 15.2299 (57), providing in certain instances for reorganization of school districts.

38. State officials including all of the defendants, are charged under the Michigan constitution with the duty of providing pupils an education without discrimination with respect to race, Art VIII Sec. 2 Mich. Const. 1963. Article I Sec. 2 of the constitution provides:

No person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws; nor shall any person be denied the enjoyment of his civil or political rights or be discriminated against in the exercise thereof because of religion, race, color or national origin. The legislature shall implement this section by appropriate legislation. Compare: *Jenkins v. Morriston School District*, #A-117 N.J. Supreme Court July 25, 1971 (slip op. p. 12, 14 and 16)

39. The State Department of Education has recently established an Equal Educational Opportunities section having responsibility to identify racially imbalanced school district and develop designation plans. [19 Tr. p. 2046 (Porter)] Section 15.3355 provides that no school or department shall be kept for any person on account of race or color.

40. The state further provides special funds to local districts for compensatory education which are administered on a per school basis under direct review of the state board. All other state aid is subject to fiscal review and accounting by the state. M.S.A. 15.1919 (53), (61), (62), (64a). See also 15.1919 (68b) pro-

viding for special supplements to merged districts "for the purpose of bringing about uniformity of educational opportunity for all pupils of the district." The general consolidation law M.S.A. 1J:3401 authorizes annexation for even non-contiguous school districts upon approval of the superintendent of public instruction and electors, as provided by law. Op. Atty. Gen., Feb. 5, 1964, No. 4193. Consolidation with respect to so called "first class" districts, i.e. Detroit, is generally treated as an annexation with the first class district being the surviving entity. The law provides procedures covering all necessary considerations. M.S.A. 15.3184, 15.3186.

41. The pattern of actions and omission on the part of both State and District defendants constitute collectively a pattern of conduct violative of the 14th Amendment. "The fact that such came slowly and surreptitiously rather than by legislative pronouncement makes the situation no less evil." *Davis v. School District of the City of Pontiac*, 309 F. Supp. 734 (E.D. Mich.) affirmed—F2d—(6th Cir. 1971).

42. Where a pattern of violation of constitutional rights is established the affirmative obligation under the 14th Amendment is imposed on not only individual school districts, but upon the State defendants in this case. *Cooper v. Aaron*, 358 U.S. 1 (1958); *Griffin v. County School Board of Prince Edward County*, 377 U.S. 218 (1964); *United States v. Georgia* Civ. No. 12972 (N.D. Ga., December 17, 1970), rev'd on other grounds, 428 F.2d 733 (5th Cir. 1970); *Goodwin v. Johnston County Board of Education*, 301 F. Supp. 1337 (E.D. N.C. 1969); *Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*, 267 F. Supp. 458 (M.D. Ala.), aff'd sub nom. *Wallace v. United States*, 389 U.S. 215 (1967); *Franklin v. Quitman County Board of Education*, 288 F. Supp. 509 (N.D. Miss. 1968); *Smith v. North Carolina State Board of Education*, No. 15,072 (4th Cir. June 14, 1971).

43. Where constitutional rights are at stake, the remedy for their effectuation is not limited by state or local laws which erect governmental subdivisions or other units of local authority which frustrate effective relief. *Brown v. Board of Education*, supra; *Gomillion v. Lightfoot*, 364 U.S. 339 (1960); *Louisiana v. United States*, 380 U.S. 145 (1965); *Haney v. County Board of Education*, 410 F.2d 920 (8th Cir. 1969); *United States v. Texas*, 321 F. Supp. 920 (E.D. Tex. 1970); *Jenkins v. Township of Morris School Dist.*, No. A-117 (Sup. Ct. N.J., June 25, 1971).

44. As the Supreme Court pointed out in *Reynolds v. Sims*, 377 U.S. 533, 12 L.Ed. 2d 506, 535 (1954), political subdivisions of the states whether they be "counties, cities or whatever" are not "sovereign entities" and may readily be bridged when necessary to vindicate federal constitutional rights and policies. See *Gomillion v. Lightfoot*, 364 U.S. 339, 347, 5 L.Ed. 2d 110, 116 (1960); *United States v. State of Texas*, 321 F. Supp. 1043, 1050-58 (E.D. Texas 1970); *Jenkins v. Township of Morris School District #A-117* N.J. Supreme Ct. June 25, 1971 slip o.p. p. 19.

FROM RANDALL COATES

BEECHER AREA SCHOOLS,
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES,
Flint, Mich., May 28, 1971.

Hon. GEORGE W. ROMNEY,
Department of Housing and Urban Development,
HUD Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY ROMNEY: We have received your findings of the investigation of Section 235 and 236 housing programs in our school district. We were impressed with the thoroughness of the investigation and with the realistic conclusions which were drawn from it. We are convinced that there are dedicated persons in HUD that wish these programs to succeed.

On behalf of the purchasers of Section 235 housing, I thank you for backing them on their legitimate complaints. The school will be pursuing means of providing educational programs for them as you suggested.

Mt. Morris and Genesee Township officials will be interested in the assistance that Federal offices can provide in the relief of the impaction that has come to their communities.

With respect to the school district, I am concerned with the number of acknowledged injustices for which no specific remedies were promised. I do not feel that it suffices to know that no other school district in the nation will suffer

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the same injustices that the local HUD office has inflicted upon us. There is little comfort in the thought that, if nothing else, we have served a useful purpose in becoming a well-known example of faulty federal housing practices.

Our disappointments, however, will be contained until a complete exploration of all your suggestions has been accomplished.

Sincerely,

RANDALL COATES, *Superintendent.*

THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT,
Washington, D.C., May 25, 1971.

Mr. RANDALL COATES,
Superintendent, Beecher Area Schools,
Flint, Mich.

DEAR MR. COATES: Reference is made to your letter of January 22, 1971, and my interim response of February 19, 1971.

We have now completed a lengthy investigation and review of the housing situation in the Beecher School District with particular reference to the criticisms contained in your letter. I am enclosing a summary of this review, which we are also submitting to the Congress. That review has verified that many of the points you raised about our Section 235 and 236 housing programs as operated in the Beecher School District are justified.

What has happened in Beecher is clearly unfortunate. Many of the problems, particularly with respect to poor quality of construction and excessive delinquencies and foreclosures, could and should have been prevented by tighter HUD administration. Problems of overcrowding of schools and changes in neighborhoods could also have been prevented or at least moderated by more and better advance planning by all concerned. On the other hand, since HUD's role with respect to these programs is primarily one of reacting to private initiatives, I think it is important to emphasize the basic responsibilities of local communities for such planning.

Now, what can be done about the situation? First, I can and have taken several measures to prevent conditions from getting worse and to correct defects in units now in place.

Second, I think Mount Morris and Genesee Townships can take other actions which will help relieve the impaction that has come to the community. Federal officials will cooperate with local officials in developing such a program.

As you know, William C. Whitbeck, the Director of our Detroit Area Office has already put a stop on additional funding of Section 235/236 units in the Beecher District. I have subsequently directed him to take personal charge of clearing up all problems in those units already in place or in process.

Our Area Office personnel will re-contact all purchasers of Section 235 housing units and check to see whether legitimate complaints about poor quality of construction and unresponsiveness of the builders have been resolved. If not, our Office will contact the builders in question and advise them of the situation and required repairs. Any builder which refuses to make such repairs will be precluded from future participation in HUD programs.

Homeowners of any unit on which the builder refuses to make the required repairs and which suffers from major structural defects as a consequence may be entitled to relief under provisions of Section 518(a) of the National Housing Act. Specific details on eligibility for the benefits of Section 518(a) should be obtained from the Detroit Area Office.

From a broader perspective, we are examining our procedures for processing applications for subsidized housing and whatever changes are necessary will be made to assure that in the future HUD will not be contributing to an excessive concentration or overloading of subsidized units in particular neighborhoods or the community at large.

The evidence certainly points to a need for additional classrooms in the Beecher School District. As you note, some of this need emerged prior to introduction of the Section 235/236 units, and it seems likely to increase further. There is, however, no HUD program to provide direct assistance for school construction. I can only suggest that you take this matter up with officials of the Flint-Genesee County Model Cities Program to see whether some of those funds might be allocated to the purpose you have in mind. Some communities have also

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developed school facilities as part of a broad urban renewal effort, but this probably requires more time than you have in mind.

Your letter also indicated a desire to acquire a 30-acre tract across from the Buell School for the purpose of developing a community recreation area. As you indicate, our Department's Open Space Program does provide assistance for these kinds of projects. Mr. Whitbeck and his staff can provide you with the information you need about this program and the application procedures to be followed.

I want to emphasize that I cannot assure you of priority access to funds under this program. Decisions on individual grants are made by our Area Offices. I am sure, however, that any forthcoming application will be processed expeditiously so that prompt decisions can be made as to whether the project meets the program criteria and funds for it are available.

Finally, you indicate interest in developing an educational program for Section 235/236 buyers and renters. We have been attempting to encourage voluntary efforts along these lines through our Section 237 counselling program. Again, Mr. Whitbeck and his staff can give you more complete information. Alternatively, you may wish to submit this kind of proposal to the Model Cities Program Administrators in the County.

As you know, Mount Morris was included in the Model Cities area at the time of the original application for funds. Our records show that the township's withdrawal came after HUD had approved this application, and thus we see no reason to object to re-inclusion of the township in the total program. Accordingly, I have asked Mr. Whitbeck to contact the Genesee County Commissioners to see if approval of the addition can be expedited.

I appreciate your bringing the Beecher situation to my attention and your patience in waiting for the results of our investigation. I can assure you that we are doing what we can to avoid repetitions of this kind of situation in other areas.

Sincerely,

GEORGE ROMNEY.

Encl.

REPORT TO JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE ON BEECHER SCHOOL DISTRICT

This Report reviews the status of and criticisms leveled against activities under the Section 235/236 housing subsidy programs in Beecher School District, Genesee County (Flint), Michigan. In general the criticisms are that these programs have brought a severe impaction on the Beecher school system and community at large, and that the local FHA Field Office has been negligent in not recognizing these problems and uncooperative in developing meaningful solutions. The Report first describes the general background of the situation and then evaluates both the general and a number of specific criticisms.

The Report makes clear that the Section 235/236 programs and other independent factors emerge as causes contributing to the problem of impaction that presently confronts the Beecher School District. However, leaders of the School District and the community at large, with cooperation from Federal officials, can take steps which to some extent will relieve the burdens of impaction and will prevent the situation from getting any worse.

BACKGROUND

The Beecher School District borders the City of Flint on the north about 65 miles northwest of Detroit, and includes parts of Mt. Morris and Genesee Townships. Next to Detroit, Flint is the largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) in Michigan in both total and minority populations. The population living within the Beecher School District is said to be about 25,000 split approximately 70% white and 30% black.

The local economy is dominated by the manufacture of automobiles and auto parts. Employment opportunities had been expanding at a healthy pace until about a year ago. Then, tightness in the mortgage market, the slump in the overall economy, and the 1970 auto strikes created severe hardships both for the local economy and the residential housing market.

Beecher School District is primarily a residential community, containing single-family homes of modest value. Prior to 1960, most if not all of the population in the Beecher area was white, and many were of a southern and rural back-

ground. Except for a few isolated pockets, blacks lived in the City of Flint, to the south.

From 1962 onward, black families began moving into the Beecher area. The availability of modestly priced homes in an area near to their former residence and to their auto industry jobs was probably the principal reason. According to some local sources, there may also have been some determination by real estate organizations that this was an area opportune for integration and lower-income occupancy. Residential building activity picked up slightly for a time (1965-66) but then slackened again as development patterns shifted outward toward more affluent areas.

The shift of development away from the Beecher area in the late 1960's caught some builder-developers with land holdings for which they no longer had a market. While many of these lots were unimproved areas of the township, and were without paved streets or sidewalks, they were easily accessible to existing water and sewer facilities and could be quickly developed if the builders could find some way of attracting buyers.

It is at this point that funds became available for the Section 235/236 programs and increased emphasis began to be placed on stimulating housing production to meet the overall housing shortage and the particular needs of low and moderate income families. To date, there have been reservations and commitments under these programs for a total of 2,562 new housing units in the overall Flint SMSA, 619 of which are located in the Beecher School District.

Developers' applications for these programs commitments have been processed through the Flint/FHA Service Office, which until September 30, 1970, reported to the Detroit FHA Insuring Office and now reports to HUD's Detroit Area Office. The Flint Service Office has 30 employees. Much of their prior experience was with the straight-forward FHA mortgage insurance program under Section 203, in which FHA's principal role is simply to process applications according to relatively routine standards.

FINDINGS

Excessive Concentration

The principle criticism is a charge of excessive concentration of Section 235/236—Assisted Housing in the Beecher School District, both in particular neighborhoods and in this District compared with other towns around Flint.

(1) A review of the Flint Service Office records indicate Section 235 fund reservations have been issued for 1,958 units and Section 236 reservation for 604 units for Genesee County. The geographic distribution is as follows:

	Sec. 235	Sec. 236	Both programs
City of Flint.....	1,315	343	1,658
Model cities area.....	(493)		
Beecher area.....	358	261	619
Rest of county.....	1,285		1,285
Total.....	1,958	604	2,562

¹ Includes 60 units without specified location.

As is apparent, 24% of all the Section 235/236 units funded to date in Genesee County are or will be located in the Beecher School District. By way of comparison, the District has about 5½% of the county's total population, and perhaps 10% of the nonwhite population of the county. Excluding the City of Flint, Beecher has about 10% of the remaining total population in the county and almost all of the remaining nonwhite population.

Within Beecher, 55 of the Section 235 units are located on scattered sites in the eastern half of the District. The other 564 Section 235/236 units are in a few small areas in the western half of the District.

There are three Section 236 projects in this western half of Beecher: 48 units (cooperative) in partial occupancy; 53 units (cooperative) in construction; and 160 units (rental with rent supplement planned) in construction. These units are within three blocks of one another.

Near this same area, there are several instances in which entire blocks have been developed with Section 235 assisted housing whose monotonous design and homogeneous occupancy create a pattern of development equivalent to traditional public housing projects. This pattern of development will increase the risk of

establishing "block" ghettos. Upon completion of the Section 236 projects mentioned above, there will be 320 to 400 units of Section 235/236—Assisted Housing within a four block area.

Plans for some of the units developed in this concentrated area had Model Cities endorsement. Of more relevance, however, this is the area where zoned lots were available at reasonable cost and with public water and sewer facilities available. Projects apparently could have been located in other areas of the county, but HUD did not attempt to direct locations of building activity.

(2) Total school enrollment in the Beecher District was essentially stable between 1966-1969. Then in 1970, enrollment jumped from 6,470 to 6,879 and further increases are expected. This has clearly created overcrowding in some of the District schools.

Some of this increased enrollment presumably reflects a general influx of population into the county rather than the building activity under the particular HUD programs in question. Seven other school districts in Genesee County experienced greater enrollment gains during the 1966-1970 period than was the case in Beecher and three districts showed gains similar to those in Beecher.

Within Beecher, there is some correlation between enrollment increases in individual schools and Section 235/236 activity in the immediate neighborhood. But this correlation is by no means perfect. On a net basis, the most serious problems appear to be in the secondary schools, in which enrollment has been rising steadily since 1966. Between 1966 and 1970 secondary school enrollment increased by 620, much of which is clearly not associated with Section 235/236 activity.

In the primary schools, aggregate enrollment in 1970 was 4,044, down from 4,198 in 1966. This reflects a net loss of about 350 pupils in the four elementary schools in the eastern half of the District where Section 235 activity has been scattered by a net increase of about 200 pupils in three of the schools in the western half near the concentrations of Section 235/236 activity. HUD has not attempted to explore whether the overcrowding in these western schools could be relieved by shifting some pupils into the less crowded eastern schools.

It should be noted that the total impact of the building activity under the Section 235/236 programs has not yet shown up in school enrollment statistics. Some of the units are not yet completed, and not all of the children in those units that are occupied are yet of school age. It is estimated that total school enrollment in the District may increase by more than 500 next fall and by another 450 in 1972. These annual increases are larger than in any previous year back at least to 1961-62. The District clearly must take some action to accommodate such an increase in enrollment.

(3) The difficulties being encountered by the Beecher School System are not just the result of more families living in the District but also reflect the fact that many of the new resident families have more than an average number of children while at the same time have lower than average incomes from which to pay taxes in support of the schools.

Thus, the 358 families purchasing the Section 235 homes include a total of 1,296 children, or an average of 3.6 children per family. It is claimed that unsubsidized families in Beecher average about 2 children per family. Nationally, new occupants of all new Section 235 homes insured in the third quarter of last year averaged about 2.5 children per family.

Nearly 48% or 170 of the 358 purchasers of the Section 235 homes in Beecher receive public assistance, mainly ADC payments. On a nationwide basis, the comparable figure is about 12%. The Beecher program also includes 144 families with annual incomes less than \$5,000, 94% of whom receive ADC and 98% of whom are one-parent households. The median annual income of the Section 235 buyers in Beecher at time of purchase was \$5,769 compared with \$6,135 nationally in the third quarter of last year.

Most builders of Section 235 homes in Genesee County communities other than Beecher had a relatively low concentration of ADC families among their sales. Reasons for the concentration of such families in Beecher have not been determined. With respect to race, about 40% of the Section 235 buyers in Beecher are black and 60% are white. This is close to the racial balance already prevailing in the community.

With respect to race, about 40% of the Section 235 buyers in Beecher are black and 60% are white. This is close to the racial balance already prevailing in the community.

(4) Interviews with various officials and leading citizens found little or no surprise at the relatively large volume of Section 235-assisted homes that were

developed in the Beecher District. It was stressed that the area was already racially integrated, a water and sewer system existed, and vacant lots were relatively inexpensive. Some builders already owned lots for which there was no market until the advent of Section 235 and 236. It was also noted that the Western half of Beecher, where most of the Section 235/236 units are located, is in Mt. Morris Township, which has minimal building restrictions and inspection requirements and is thus conducive to large scale development.

The investigation also indicated serious communication problems between the local FHA Service Office and the community. There was apparently very little, if any, discussion between the Flint Service Office supervisory staff and builders and community interests regarding fund allocations, site locations, and community problems. There was no contact with the County Planning Commission regarding the best possible locations in view of land-use changes occurring within the City of Flint and the County. Despite the historical problems of the Beecher area, the lack of local government resources, and the early warning signs of more difficulties, effective communication among the various community interests did not take place.

New Construction vs. Existing Housing

A second criticism is that too much of the subsidy allocations was used to stimulate new construction in the Flint area relative to analysis of market need and the prevailing vacancy situation in existing units.

A 1969-70 FHA market analysis estimated the total need for subsidized housing in the Flint area during the following two years at 2,430 units. As noted earlier, reservations for Section 235/236 units in Genesee County total 2,562 units. Completions of these units are phased over a two-year period. No interference should be drawn, however, that there was a basis in the market analysis for permitting a concentration of 25% of these units in the small area of Beecher.

Beecher is said to have vacancies in 190-200 homes. On a county-wide basis, the vacancy rate in April 1970 was down to 1.1%, which is definitely below average for the area.

It is clear that the economic downturn, auto strike, and tight money situation have had a depressing effect on the housing market during the past year, though efforts to establish just how soft the market was or is have not revealed a clear picture. Against this background, claims that new construction under the Section 235/236 programs has aggravated the total housing market are difficult to prove or disprove. On the other hand, within certain neighborhoods, there does appear to have been some distress selling, and it is probably not unreasonable to attribute this to a reaction to the types of units and families moving in under Section 235 assistance.

Poor Quality Construction

Criticism of the poor quality of design and construction of many of the Section 235 units in Beecher appear to be amply justified. Investigations and conversations with buyers showed a hatred or dislike for one builder in particular because of an alleged consistent failure by that firm to make repairs or live up to what the buyers' felt the builder has promised. Many of the complaints apparently involved the lack of storm doors, screens, lawns, and in some instances, paved streets and roads.

The FHA Service Office in Flint did make inspections of these properties during the construction process. Despite the warnings implicit in the increasing volume of complaints, however, such inspections continued to be only routine, and thus were not detailed or exacting enough to prevent the problems that manifestly exist. In several areas, moreover, the Field Office completely failed to address itself to clear violation of regulations against monotony through repetition of design more often than every fifth house. What is most disturbing of all, these deficiencies occurred in homes that were consistently approved for the maximum mortgage limits permissible under the Section 235 program.

It should be emphasized that not all of the Section 235 units in Beecher and Genesee County are of poor quality. Some of the Builders were quite conscientious in producing sound and appealing units whose value could easily stand market test. Unfortunately, there was no insistence on similar high standards on the part of all the builders.

Delinquencies and Foreclosures

One other major criticism of the Section 235 program in Beecher is that it is experiencing excessive delinquencies and foreclosures. What evidence there is supports this charge.

Two financial institutions with mortgages on 656 Section 235 homes in the county report 188 delinquencies and 19 foreclosures. A third institution stated that its delinquencies and foreclosures on 235 homes were running three to four times the average for its overall business.

One developer-sponsor in the area did develop a home-ownership training and credit counselling program in connection with its sales program. Welfare families in the lowest income categories were not selected for homeownership under this program, and the training given to the buyers who were selected apparently minimized financial and maintenance difficulties. Other builder-developers, however, made little or no effort to provide their buyers with training or counselling, even in the case of ADC families.

Many of the ADC families buying Section 235 homes came from Flint's public housing projects. Some of these families even owed the housing authority as much as six month's back rent. The monthly shelter allowances for these families are sufficient to enable them to cover their required share of the mortgage payments and initial taxes on their new homes. But high utility costs, as can occur during winter months, or an increase in tax rates have sometimes made for more demands on their budgets than they can afford and led to early delinquency. The FHA Field Office has made no effort to resolve these kinds of problems.

CONCLUSIONS

Three broad conclusions emerge from this review

(1) Serious problems have arisen in the Beecher School District and community which if not met effectively do threaten the quality of the educational system and the racial and socio-economic balance that developed in the community during the 1960's. Absorption of almost any volume of new housing is likely to create at least some problems for a community. The key is to plan ahead so that such problems are minimized. This was not done in Beecher.

(2) The Section 235/236 programs undoubtedly contribute to these problems, though they are not the only factors at work. Some of the problems reflect laxness in following program regulations and procedures. The most serious problems, however, are the result of independent private decision-makers working within the permissible framework of the programs. While these kinds of problems should and probably could have been prevented, to have done so would have required relating the Department's housing programs to community planning in order to deal with social problems—a capacity absent until recently in many local Field Offices.

(3) Major efforts will have to be taken to prevent recurrences of the Beecher situation in other localities across the country, re-orienting HUD personnel and regulations as necessary to accomplish this. In addition, strong leadership on the part of officials in Beecher and cooperation of the community at large is needed to maintain the viability of the community and its school system. Federal officials will work with the community in developing a meaningful program. No specific Federal program aid has been promised, but it is expected that applications for such aid will be filed and considered promptly.

JANUARY 22, 1971.

HON. GEORGE W. ROMNEY,
Department of Housing and Urban Development,
HUD Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SECRETARY ROMNEY: As superintendent of schools for the Beecher Area School District of Flint, Michigan, I am compelled to bring to your attention the facts of how the Flint Federal Housing Administration Office, under its Director, Mr. Hutchinson, has and is administering the Sections 235 and 236 housing programs to assist low and moderate income families in acquiring decent housing.

I have carefully investigated the 235 and 236 program as it has been used in our school district community with the cooperation and assistance of both the Mount Morris Township and Genesee County. No cooperation or even minimal civility has been provided by the Flint FHA Office and its director. We have been

unable to even obtain information which normally should be available to the public. From my investigation, I and others have concluded that the Flint FHA Office has been and is guilty of gross mismanagement, insensitivity and negligence in administering these programs.

The Beecher Area School District is located in Genesee County in the Flint, Michigan, metropolitan area. The geographic area served by the district includes a portion of Genesee Township and also a part of Mount Morris Township. We serve a five and one-half square mile area with a population of 25,000. There has been no substantial increase in this population in the past four years.

The District is divided by two arterial roads which cross in the center of the area and thus form four quarters. One eastern quarter contains a population that is 80 per cent black. The other eastern quarter is 90 per cent white. The western half of the District is largely made up of modern subdivisions in which the racial composition is equally divided. Nine elementary schools serve the District and their racial proportions reflect those of their attendance areas.

Ours is not a wealthy district. The average household income is \$8,000 to \$8,150 and the average cost of homes is between \$13,000 and \$17,000 with very few in the \$25,000 to \$35,000 range. Prior to the 236 program we had no multiple family housing in our District. Seventy per cent of the wage earners in our district work for General Motors. Despite their limited resources the school district has had the support of the taxpayers. In fact, the millage rate paid by our citizens (30.5 mills) is among the top 17 per cent for districts throughout the state.

I believe the district has done quite well in providing quality education. Over 30 per cent of our children come from families with incomes under \$6,000. The 235 and 236 programs, as the Flint FHA Office has administered them, have placed all our past success in jeopardy. Because of these programs, the district now faces an immediate danger of seriously increasing a deficit already occurred in an effort to maintain a desirable education program. I fear our ability to provide quality education is being irreparably harmed.

To dramatize the severity of the economic situation we face here in our district, let me give you some facts about the number of disadvantaged children we served during the 1969-70 school year and are presently serving during this year.

Elementary schools	1969-70		1970-71	
	enrollment	economically deprived (percent)	enrollment	economically deprived (percent)
Buell.....	591	54.0	609	51.4
Buick.....	311	35.4	278	50.5
Dailey.....	996	9.8	1,051	32.0
Harrow.....	268	42.9	273	42.3
Klein.....	455	6.0	440	28.0
Kurtz.....	93	45.2	97	52.2
Messer.....	482	48.1	431	50.3
Northgate.....	399	26.1	460	38.9
Zink.....	315	8.1	385	28.0

As you can see, last year we had a very substantial percentage of disadvantaged students prior to the introduction of the 235 and 236 programs into our District. This year's figures are significantly worse as attested to by the large increase of disadvantaged students at Buick, Dailey, Klein, Northgate and Zink schools. All these school areas contain sties upon which 235 homes were constructed except the Dailey School. This represents a school community that was racially balanced until the 235 program tipped the scales and prompted a very desirable element of the community to move to other districts where school taxes were lower and where half-days sessions were not likely.

Thus the overall effects of the summer building projects are being felt throughout the District. It is our judgment that the more affluent families residing in the Dailey area are the first to respond and that their exodus presages other departures.

Let me make it crystal clear that neither I nor the members of the Beecher Area Board of Education oppose the concept of either the 235 or 236 program. We are fully in accord with the objectives of the 235 program as stated in the 235 handbook (FHA 4441.1).

"the program is not intended to only produce more homes but to enable lower income families to become owners of homes and thereby experience the pride and possession that accompanies home ownership. In this way, the program can be a vital influence in promoting personal responsibility and social stability."

I submit that the manner in which the FHA office has administered both the 235 and 236 programs has neither promoted personal responsibility nor social stability in the Beecher School District.

In the past fourteen months, the Flint FHA office has reserved allotments for 250 Section 235 homes in the Beecher School District. The FHA director, Mr. Hutchinson, also has approved 580 units under 236 of which 430 are now under construction and ground has been broken for the remaining 150. This of course means that over this period 715 units of low and moderate income housing have been approved in our district. The majority of these units, about 600, are concentrated in the attendance zones of the Northgate, Buell and Zink Schools which are already filled to capacity and also have a substantial number of disadvantaged students. The following table will give you a good idea of the impact of the 235 program on these three schools to the present. You will note that of the 250 Section 235 units FHA has approved, 172 in the Northgate, Buell and Zink attendance zones.

Schools	Number of homes ¹	Number of students
Zink Elementary.....	64	256
Northgate Elementary.....	42	168
Buell Elementary.....	66	264
Total.....	172	688

¹ Determined by a school district survey after the local FHA office refused to confirm where 235 units were located in the district.

On the average we get two school children per household. The average tax paid per household to operate the schools is \$305 per year. Since it costs the district \$800 per pupil per year to educate its students this means that on the average household the district loses \$1095.

But, for 235 homes we have been getting an average of four school age children per unit. I am sure you can readily see the problems we are facing because for each of these 235 households we are losing a minimum of \$2895. Besides this there are an abnormally high number of children from these 235 owned homes that need special education or remedial teaching that costs much more than \$800 per pupil. We have heard the argument that the 235 program provides more taxpayers. We can't argue with that conclusion. But, in an already losing situation I am sure you can see how the 235 program has worked to severely frustrate our efforts to maintain the quality education we offer our students.

The basic question I have about the 235 and 236 programs is, why were so many 235 and 236 units approved in such a small area? According to the FHA prepared analysis of the Flint, Michigan housing market for 1969 through 1971, the market for existing sales housing in the Flint area has been stable in recent years. The average annual homeowner vacancy rate in the report is stated at 1.1 per cent. In October of 1970, we did a survey of the district and found 200 houses vacant. Another December survey showed 195 vacant. As you can see this is three times the area wide average. And yet, despite the availability of existing housing in the area, the FHA Flint Office continued to approve 235 and 236 units. With more and more public housing going up in the City of Flint proper and with the city's decreasing population, where will the people come from to fill existing units as well as the new 235 and 236 units?

Mr. Hutchinson of the Flint FHA office informs me that the only housing construction going on in the Flint area for the past two years has been with the assistance of the 235 and 236 fund reservations. He stated further that he had approved 300 235 units in our district and 1,000 more in the Flint metropolitan area. Doesn't it seem a little unusual for such a large concentration in such a small area? He also assures us that 75 per cent of the 235 purchasers are on welfare. Certainly this in no way is going to uplift our school district community where incomes are already quite modest.

Once again I would like to call the 1969-71 analysis of the Flint housing market to your attention. According to this report,

"Section 235, Sales Housing. Interest rate reduction payments by the Federal Government could provide sales housing for low to moderate income families under the provisions of Section 235. It is judged the 235 program in the Flint area during the next two years using exception income limits can provide about 220 units annually. Under regular income limits the potential would be slightly lower.

Section 236, Rental Housing. In the Flint area, the annual occupancy potential under Section 236 Program is estimated at 455 units including 375 family units and 80 units for elderly individuals and couples, using exception income limits. The use of regular income limits may decrease these potentials?

Obviously someone has to be in error. Are we using up more than one year's 235 allotment for the whole metropolitan area in our school district? Is it possible that for the 236 program there is a need in a two square mile in our district for 580 units?

Mr. Hutchinson of the local FHA office advises me that public housing in Flint has not been successful in meeting the needs of area low and moderate income people. He says that midwesterners were raised to live in single family homes and the 235 program is the vehicle for this. If this is the case why were the multi-family public housing units built to begin with? Even more important why were 580 units approved for our school district.

As far as the location of 235 homes is concerned, your 235 handbook states that, "the location of a project, availability of transportation and other factors (including adequate schools, I hope) will have to influence the extent of lower income need which a given project can be expected to serve, even where assistance payments are available. FHA Insuring Offices are urged to make use of market analysis data in estimating housing demands for low income families."

Obviously the Flint FHA office has building houses as its primary goal, not promoting any semblance of social stability. Because of the FHA office's action the racial composition of our district has begun to change markedly. In one school for instance, where we had 151 white students and 150 black students before Section 235 and 236, after about twenty 235 homes had been purchased there were 151 white children and 196 black. The overall population of our district has been affected in the same way.

I have investigated why so much 235 and 236 housing is going into our area and the only thing I have been able to determine is that the availability of water and sewer, the small lot size requirement and the fact that the district is already integrated have contributed to the great influx of low and moderate income housing we have received.

As you can readily see, the 235 program certainly has not been a vehicle for social stability in our area. When I asked the local FHA office if they could be more careful about how many low and moderate income housing units they approve in one area, I got a reply which very simply said, "when a builder comes to us with some lots and plans that meet our minimum specifications, we get him a fund reservation.

We do not keep track of how many units we approve in a given area, we don't know the addresses and we are not about to get into the social services business. We are here to build houses only. Cut out the school frills such as athletics and special education and run split shifts."

I believe the local FHA office, the HUD Regional office and the Washington HUD office have a moral as well as ethical responsibility to exercise extreme care so that the social stability of a neighborhood is protected. Certainly the Section 235 guidelines impose at the very least a careful oversight function on the FHA and, from what Congressional intent I can get of the 235 authorization in 1968, the aim of the program is to encourage stable communities through a carefully conceived and balanced program assisting low and moderate income buyers to purchase homes in an area where a cross section of people live. Certainly the program's intent is not to set up a whole community to block in a community where only assisted buyers live. Certainly the program's intent is not to set up a whole community of low and moderate income people either.

I recently read a Third Circuit Court decision where it was ruled that Federal Housing Programs must work to alleviate racial segregation. As the 235 program is operating in our school district, racial segregation is being encouraged and racial stability undermined.

Judge John J. Gibbons, who wrote the Circuit Court opinion, said that the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968 require federal housing agencies to do much more than get houses built. They also must weigh and evaluate the impact of every new project on racial integration. The Flint FHA office has not done this. To quote the Judge:

"Increase or maintenance of racial concentration is likely to lead to urban blight, and this is in variance with national housing policy. We hold that the agencies judgement must be an informed one which weighs the alternatives and finds the needs for physical rehabilitation or additional minority housing in the project in question clearly outweighs the disadvantage of increasing or perpetrating racial concentration."

I am not a lawyer but I am confident the Flint FHA office will have an impossible task in justifying its action in the 235 and 236 programs in the Beecher Area School District. While even local FHA offices may have housing quotas to meet, reason and good sense must be used and in our case it was not.

There are many abuses which the Flint FHA office has either encouraged, perpetrated or condoned.

Besides concentrating too many houses in our area, no adequate educational program has been undertaken to explain to builders that of all the homes they build ought not to be sold to 235 buyers.

In this respect, perhaps an arbitrary limit that not more than 25 per cent or 30 per cent of a given development can have 235 assisted buyers is necessary. Since pride in ownership is one of the program's aims the local FHA office should either provide itself, arrange to be provided as a condition of commitment by the builder, or contract with agencies which have the capability, an educational program to ensure that low and moderate income buyers getting 235 assistance know how to care for their homes properly. Such an educational program is non-existent in any of the homes in our district. Such a program would, of course, bear its greatest fruit if non-assisted and assisted buyers lived side by side with one providing the education and example to the other. The absence of any such situation now leads in my opinion to what has been called by many "instant slums".

Also, I believe the FHA office in Flint should have taken greater pains to see to it that the 235 program approved homes were carefully inspected before occupancy and that the buyers got what they paid for before they moved in. In our area, there were numerous instances of shoddy workmanship and oral promises to buyers which were never kept. Certainly a low income buyer must have a complete home because he cannot afford repairs or will have his new home repossessed in short order. We have an abnormally high repossession rate on 235 assisted homes in our area.

Another reason for the high repossession rate in my opinion is the failure on the part of the FHA to make clear to 235 buyers under what conditions their subsidy may be increased. In Mount Morris Township for example, tax day is December 31 of each year. If a home is not finished at that time it stays on tax roles for the next year as a vacant lot. The next year when home taxes come into affect, families move out of 235 assisted homes because they can no longer meet the payments and do not know where to turn for help. The same situation arises when a school mill levy is up for consideration by the electorate. These 235 buyers know that if their taxes go up one dollar they can't stay in their homes. So, either they vote "no" and penalize the educational system, or, if the bill levy passes, they leave their homes because they do not know how to get their subsidy increased.

Another area where the local FHA office is guilty of ignorance and gross mismanagement is in assessing 235 units for sale. For instance, I have seen building permits which list the total cost of construction of a home at \$10,000 but the assessed evaluation by FHA has been \$17,000 to \$24,000 for the home. The home is sold for \$17,000 to \$24,000. Certainly this represents more than an allowable profit margin on the part of the builder. It appears as though local FHA assessors value the 235 eligible homes at the top scale of the allowable amounts rather than on their true value.

We have a situation in Mount Morris Township where a home builder says it costs him \$10,000 to build a home and the home sells for \$18,000. The FHA appraisal on the home was \$18,000 but homes on both sides were valued at \$10,000. There is no way that the \$18,000 home will ever sell for \$18,000 in the neighborhood.

Also, we have situations where 235 approved homes have been built on either side of \$35,000 homes thus bringing down the value of the unassigned buyer's home. How will this create community stability?

I would like to call to your attention one instance among many that has come to my attention since the 235 and 236 mess began. Here a brick four bedroom, 2 bath home in good condition sold for \$17,000 to a non-assisted buyer while a prefabricated home up the street with four bedrooms and 1 bath and several hundred feet less floor space sold to an assisted buyer for \$23,000. I might add that the FHA assessment for the first home was \$17,000 because of the large number of homes for sale in the area. Why was not the same yard stick used in the second instance.

I could go on and on about the abuses the Flint FHA office has either condoned or encouraged in the 235 and 236 program but I think you can get the flavor of what's going on from what I have said thus far.

The results that the 235 and 236 programs are visiting and will visit on the Beecher Area School District are disastrous. Last spring we tried and failed for the first time to get voter approval of a stop gap millage so that we could add some temporary classrooms to the Buell and Zink Schools to take care of the influx of the children that these housing units were bringing to us. We lost because local resentment to the 235 and 236 program was very severe. Now we face a situation where we will have to ask for continuation of our current operating millage before June. I am not optimistic because of the continuing frustration we have experienced in trying to deal with local FHA offices in getting them to understand our problem. We anticipate an enrollment increase of 1100 students due to these housing programs. There is a potential for 1400 students from these homes. Where will we put them, provided we are still open next year? The plans we have developed are outlined below, none are pleasing to us at all. We feel each will detract from the quality of education we are offering our students. We also feel that implementation of these suggestions will cause many white families we have in our community to move to other areas. This will not increase the social stability of our school district population.

OUR PLANS FOR MEETING THE INCREASED ENROLLMENT ARE

1st step.—Make use of all available classroom space in the junior highs and the high school. Sixth graders from Northgate, will be transferred to the high school. Sixth graders from Zink School will be transferred to Dolan Junior High.

2nd step.—As it becomes necessary, elementary classes will be placed on split sessions beginning with the 5th grade. Two classes will be assigned to each classroom. One class will be in session from 7:0 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. and the other from 1 p.m. to 6 p.m.

3rd step.—Apply to the State for permission to reduce the required instructional hours so that some grades may attend school less than five hours per day.

We ask that you investigate the operation of the 235 and 236 programs in the Beecher School District Area promptly. While the investigation is going on we urge you to declare a moratorium on any further fund reservations in these programs and further order the Flint FHA office to place all existing commitments, where construction has not begun in abeyance until the investigation has been completed.

We ask further that the Department provide a discretionary grant through which we will construct additions to the Buell and Zink Schools to take care of about one-fourth of the students generated by these programs. We estimate the cost of such construction of 8 rooms per school to be \$112,000 assuming we use prefabricated units at \$14,000 per classroom. We would here like to work with your Operation Breakthrough Program in what we can take advantage of the least expensive and best form of construction possible.

My view is that the 16 additional rooms we have requested you assist us in acquiring will house 400 students at a pupil-teacher ratio of 25-1. This means that one-fourth of the students generated by the 235 and 236 programs' concentration in our area will be housed. However, these 16 rooms should get us through the school year and renew the faith of the community in the Federal Government. My feeling is that with such a demonstration of good faith on your part the exodus of white families from the community will be stemmed and gradually social stability will return.

I would also ask that your agency provide us with a high priority designation for participation in the Open Spaces Program. There is a 30 acre tract across

from the Buell School which we would like to purchase. If we can get priority consideration from your agency as far as our plans to develop the acreage we will not need for the school we plan to build per se, we will move ahead with our plans to develop the remaining acreage as a recreation area for all residents. No recreation areas have been provided in this area; which is hardest hit by 235 and 236 construction, except the Buell School playground. We anticipate the complete cooperation of the Mount Morris Township in this endeavor.

From the attached map of our school district, I am sure you can see how concentrated the 235 and 236 housing is. We believe a large number of errors were made in the administration of these programs by the Flint FHA office. We also believe that in good conscience you might do something to prevent any further errors and also provide us with the assistance we need to keep our educational system afloat. By investigating the situation here you will restore our faith in our Federal government. Since we obviously do not think it either feasible or desirable for residents now in 235 homes to move, we believe you should assist our district in providing the classroom space these programs have made it absolutely essential we have as a minimum. Also, we would be most interested in building a 34 room elementary school on the site mentioned above and encourage you to consider the possibility of such a venture as a spin-off to the Operation Breakthrough Program. With the standard construction cost per classroom now pegged at a minimum of \$30,000 our district certainly cannot afford to build a new school. Yet, we really do not have the expertise to select the proper pre-fabricated units to meet our needs. We estimate that to build such a school would cost between \$450,000 and \$500,000 based upon the information we now have.

Also, may I suggest that we would be willing to develop and operate an educational program for 235 and 236 buyer participants as a part of our adult basic education program and in cooperation with the FHA. We would be pleased to talk with you about this in fuller detail.

I invite you to our district and observe our situation first hand. I know our request is out of the ordinary but the problems created here by the 235 and 236 programs are not normal either.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

RANDALL COATES, *Superintendent.*

P.S.—I thought it also would be of interest to you that the Board of Supervisors of the Mount Morris Township voted this week to become a part of the Model Cities Area. If our request is approved by the Genesee County Commissioners, this will mean that the entire Beecher Area School District is in the Model Cities Area. I hope this serves to reinforce our statement as to the economic and social characteristics of the district.

THOMAS & DELANEY,
Flint, Mich., August 27, 1971.

Re: Money Claim Against Federal Government.

BOARD OF EDUCATION,
Beecher School District,
Flint, Michigan

GENTLEMEN: Several months ago the Beecher School District placed in my hands for evaluation the possibility of making a claim for money damages against the Federal Government and/or any of its employees and agencies, arising out of the "235" and "236" housing in the Beecher School District.

We immediately caused research to be made to discover a method or vehicle for such a cause of action. We had the research done at our expense at the University of Michigan Law School, where every law book in the world is available. We received a 16 page detailed review of the problem that scouted every possible avenue of approach.

In brief summary we can find no way to ask the Court to take jurisdiction of a claim against HUD or FHA, or the executive branch of the Federal Government in compensation for the wrongs done the Beecher District arising out of the 235 and 236 housing properties. The laws do not give a cause of action for money damages. This would have to be first granted in Federal legislation that would ordain the personal responsibility of Federal Office or Department. As the Federal statutes now stand there is no such cause of action for money damages.

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You recognize the difference between money damages and abuse of rules and regulations that could be enjoined to be stopped. In the Philadelphia case a Court was willing to stop abuses—but did not award any money damages, was not asked to award any money damages, and could not have awarded any money damages if requested. When an FHA administrator breached his discretion beyond tolerable limits a Court could stop him, and did on occasion. So, his gross abuse and mismanagement of the local FHA office violated the National Housing Act guidelines and it still falls within the purview of 12 USC 1280 (a) that exempts from authority claims of discretionary action. Under 5 USC 701-706, we can ask for a judicial review when we feel aggrieved by the agency action, and under such a review the Court can:

... "(1) Compel agency action unlawfully withheld or unreasonably delayed.

(2) Hold unlawful and set aside agency action, findings, and conclusions . . ."

Thus, there is no money damage judgment specified for one aggrieved by the local FHA Field Office action.

My own research and that conducted in the Library of the University of Michigan Law School leads to the conclusion that we cannot successfully file a suit against the Federal Government, or its agents for monetary damages in behalf of Beecher School District.

There is a national research company that researches questions, seated at Charlottesville, Virginia, but they limit their services to justiciable legal issues in which Court have already made determinations, and evaluations are needed as to what the Court decisions mean. They do not think we have an issue here that has legal standing in the Courts. My research leads me to the same conclusion.

Respectfully,

THOMAS & DELANEY,
John Wm. Thomas.

[From the Washington Post]

HUD'S BIGGEST HOUSING EFFORT RUNS INTO TROUBLE IN MICHIGAN

By Peter Braestrup

Flint, Mich.—The crisis in the suburban Beecher school district just north of this grimy auto workers city has received little publicity. But it has opened up a host of questions about the federal government's biggest single housing effort for low-income families—the so-called Section 235 program.

For George Romney, the Nixon administration's energetic Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, "235" has been a key to speeded-up housing production.

Under the 235 program, HUD's Federal Housing Administration not only insures mortgages on new houses (up to \$24,000) but also subsidizes the low-income buyer's monthly interest payments.

Hard hit by the "tight money" recession in conventional home building, private developers have flocked to the program. In the year ending June 30, 141,000 new homes will be built under it, and the rate next year is due to hit 166,000.

The goals set by Congress are clear: to give black and white low-income families the stabilizing responsibilities of home ownership in the suburbs as well as in the cities through "geographic dispersion."

To the integrated Beecher school district, however, the 235 program in the past 18 months has become a bureaucratic monster—imperiling hard-won racial and educational progress. This month, the Nixon administration quietly banned any more 235 construction by private builders in the 5-square-mile Beecher District. And HUD officials in Washington say a broader look at the administration of the whole program may soon be under way.

"We are getting the word out to builders," said John Kane, new deputy director of the HUD area office in Detroit. "We take the situation seriously."

The HUD decision to hold up 235 construction in Beecher came nine long months after school and township officials first warned Romney that the federally sided concentration of low-income housing in Beecher was having a "disastrous effect" on schools and, ironically, on racial balance.

"When I first got into this thing," said Willie Wheaton, a black community organizer for the Flint Urban League, "I thought the opposition in Beecher was racial. But it isn't. The fact is that the FHA was running the program for the benefit of builders at the expense of the community."

The irony lies in Beecher's character prior to the 1970 influx as one of the few integrated suburban communities in the nation with a sizable low-income population of blacks and poor whites. For four years, as Schools Superintendent Randall Coates, 54, noted, the 25,000 population of the five-mile-square blue-collar district has been racially stable: 70 per cent white, 30 per cent black. Moreover the over-all school population held the same ratio; there was no exodus of whites. Now, Coates says, the exodus has begun.

Moreover, blacks and whites have shared in school teaching and administration. The school board comprises seven whites and two blacks, including the board president, 42-year-old Luther Pittman, a Buick parts inspector. He said he was the first of his race to head a school board in Mt. Morris Township.

"The community had reached a point where the races are living together and it has been that way for three to five years," Pittman said after a board meeting last Wednesday. "Overcrowding of the schools is our paramount concern. We do not have a racist angle."

"We aren't against the 235 housing program or the 236 (apartment) program. We know the people in the inner city need housing," said Superintendent Coates. "But we are against the way it has been administered. We had one of the model integrated school systems in Michigan and now it is being ruined."

Yet, Thomas Hutchinson, the veteran FHA director in Flint, has made commitments to local builders to construct a total of 716 "235" and "236" housing units in the tiny Beecher district—more than he allotted to all the other Flint suburbs in sprawling Genesee County (pop. 441,000).

The more affluent suburbs, such as Swartz Creek southwest of Flint, got only a half-dozen 235 units, and Flushing and Clayton Townships to the west were allotted none at all.

In an interview in the Flint FHA office, Hutchinson said he had no "special guidelines" to do otherwise, except for vague talk of "geographic dispersion." The impact of housing—any housing—on a community's schools was not his business, nor was racial balance.

"These people need houses. They're all red-blooded Americans," he said. "The poor are all over."

"We are dealing with individual houses," he said, after noting that he kept no track of low-income housing locations. "Our deal, as far as I can see, is this: is there a market?"

There were some requirements, notably that water and sewers were on the site, and there were cost limits (\$24,500 for a four-bedroom house). But, as Hutchinson noted, the builder took the initiative in site selection. Then, FHA committed itself to insuring the mortgage and paying interest subsidies. The builders could not lose, selling "FHA-approved" houses at up to \$24,500.

"A builder is in there for business," Hutchinson said.

From a developer's point of view, as Coates and others observed, Beecher District was ideal: sewer and water facilities were in place; relaxed controls and the minimum lot size (6,000 sq. feet) lent themselves to quick low-cost development; and, due to Beecher's already integrated status, there would be fewer objections raised by officials or by their autoworker constituents to an influx of inner city blacks—and poor white migrants from Appalachia.

So last spring, with Hutchinson's approval, the developers got busy. As Donald J. Krapohl, the \$12,000-a-year supervisor of Mt. Morris Township, observed: "A township has few powers. We had started a master plan (with \$24,000 in HUD help and \$12,000 in township money) and over-all zoning before the 235 came but it is still not ready."

And Beecher shows it. Its nine modern brick elementary schools, junior high school, library and high school complex and a few churches are the only relief in a typical Genesee County pattern of modest subdivisions, patches of abandoned farmland, and ugly neon along Coldwater Road, and Saginaw Street and other avenues leading into Flint's dreary North End.

Not only did the FHA allow builders to concentrate in Beecher district, but they also permitted them to cluster the 235 houses and families within the district—30 houses in two facing rows on West Afef Street, a dozen on West Genesee Street.

"It's what I call federally aided ghetto creation," said Krapohl.

The impact on the Beecher Schools was apparent last fall. Over-all, with the 235 and 236 building underway, Coates sees a total increase of 16 per cent in school enrollment by next fall—1,100 new pupils, most of them "disadvantaged" by HEW standards and 70 per cent of them from welfare families.

Thanks to the 235 "clusters," some schools got hit hard already. At the Zink elementary school, for example, three classes are being held in the basement; the school's percentage of disadvantaged rose from 8 per cent to 28 per cent. And racially, Coates said, the school changed from 156 white to 151 black to 156-200. "The balance was tipped," Coates said sadly. "The whites are moving."

With each new 235 household having an average of four school children—twice the Beecher average—the school district suffers a revenue loss of \$800 per pupil. Moreover, already in the top one-sixth in tax rates among Michigan school districts, Beecher is hard up for revenue. A planned expressway has taken land off the tax rolls. A two-mill building levy was defeated last June; the comfortable present teacher-pupil ratio of 1-20 will increase to 1-30, despite state aid, by Coates' reckoning.

"This is not a rich community," Coates said. "The average household income is \$8,000. Seventy per cent of our wage earners work for General Motors. But they have really supported the schools. Now it's all being drowned."

The impact on the schools has not gone unnoticed by the newcomers in the Section 235 housing. Said Barbara Dean, a white mother of five on Aref Street, "I know it's overcrowded. They want to take my daughter out of there and move her and all the kindergarten kids to another place."

Coates sees double shifts, transfers, and reduction of classroom hours as the only possible response to meet enrollment.

In addition to the impact on Beecher schools, the 235 program has also produced scores of complaints of shoddy construction, excessive profits, or unfilled promises against the three major developers involved in Beecher building. In the neighboring Genessee County Model Cities area, a local Model Cities staff played watchdog. But in the Mt. Morris Township section of Beecher, no such helping hand existed. Willie Wheaton of the Urban League had been investigating 235 defects within Flint's own ghettos, and later collected complaints in Beecher.

"I haven't had any flood of complaints," said Hutchinson, who defended the developers. "The builders are all old-timers."

Wheaton said: "Hutchison wouldn't act. So we took about 75 complaints to HUD in Detroit. We're now down to 15."

But, as Wheaton noticed during a tour of Beecher's 235 homes, new complaints keep cropping up. On Afer Street, Mrs. Bobby Nelson, with two children and a low-paid husband, pointed to the cracked wall, and airleaking windows (in 24 degree weather). "Sure, this is better than what we had if only they'd fix up what's wrong, and give you the things they promised. My gas and electric bill will be up to \$42 a month."

No provision was made by FHA to monitor the complex transaction between hardselling developer and subsidized low-income buyer, or to educate the newcomers, particularly welfare mothers, in home maintenance.

From Detroit, William Whitbeck, who took over last August as HUD area director, began to look into the Beecher situation last fall. Wheaton and others credit him with good intentions, especially after Superintendent Coates filed a lengthy report with HUD Jan. 22. "I take their complaints seriously," Whitbeck told The Washington Post last week. An investigation of local FHA practices is reportedly under way, and new instructions are being drafted.

"We have the muscle," said John Kane, Whitbeck's deputy. "The builders are begging us for 235 houses. We intend to use it."

A Supervisor Krapohl's instigation, a one 235 developer, Whittier Building Co. (Robert and Sam Gutterman), was banned from the Mt. Morris Township portion of Beecher last April. But the township failed in court to ward off building of a 155-unit low-income apartment project, under the 236 program. Town officials argued that since there were some 200 vacant houses in the Beecher district, why the emphasis on subsidizing new costlier housing and "potential slums" if not to help out the builders?

Now, as Kane noted, a total tan on new 235 construction—but not on multiple unit 236 housing—is in the offing for Beecher. Kane said new efforts would be made to deal with the "social" aspects of housing—which is common practice with government-built public housing projects. But unlike standard public housing, the Section 235 program contains no provisions for special extra federal school aid to soften the impact on local communities.

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As Rep. Donald W. Riegle (R.-Mich.) put it, the Beecher fiasco illustrates "the many ways that a program with seemingly worthy objectives can get into trouble."

As Riegle and other observers of the Beecher crisis noted, there may be a more far-reaching effect if HUD does not force its field men to think in terms of "impact" as well as "production" of low-income housing. One may be a growing public antipathy to building any 235 housing, stronger hostility to even token integration in the suburbs, and a loss of faith in any federal effort.

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